

CANONICAL CRITICISM AS A TOOL FOR ENHANCING PREACHING
IN THE KOREAN CHURCH

A Professional Project
Presented to
the Faculty of the
Claremont School of Theology

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the Degree
Doctor of Ministry

by
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May 1997

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*has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty
of the School of Theology at Claremont in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of*

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ABSTRACT

Canonical Criticism as a Tool for Enhancing Preaching in the Korean Church

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The importance of preaching cannot be stressed enough. The Korean Church put priority on preaching from the very beginning and, even today, the focus of Korean preachers is on preaching. Some say that the remarkable growth of the Korean Church is due to its ministry of preaching that emphasizes the Word. If so, what is the basis of Korean preaching? The Korean Church, with its foundation in the tradition of fundamentalism and revivalism, has kept the tradition rigorously. Therefore, the concern of the Korean Church, regardless of denomination, lies in personal salvation through conversion experience. The Korean Church has not focused its concern on socio-political issues. Under the colonial rule of the Japanese, under Park Jung-Hee's dictatorial Yu-Shin regime, and under the dictatorial regime of two other dictators, the Korean Church did not address social justice issues nor did it engage in social action. Rather, the Korean Church put all of its interest in personal salvation through conversion experiences at revival meetings.

After the fall of the Yu-Shin regime and two other dictatorial regimes, Korean society began to criticize the Korean Church which kept silent in the face of rampant social injustice. As a result, many younger generation Koreans left the church. Many church leaders are concerned about the crisis that the

Korean Church is facing these days. In particular, they are concerned with Korean preaching. Is there any methodology that can assess, guide and suggest a new direction for Korean preaching? If there is some biblical and theological methodology that can assess and guide the future of Korean preaching, what might that be? In the author's opinion, canonical criticism, although not an absolute measure on which preaching can be assessed, could serve as an alternative methodology that could be an effective tool with which Korean preaching can be assessed and enhanced.

Chapter 2 is an introduction to canonical criticism as well as an explanation of why canonical criticism can be an important tool. In order to highlight Korean preaching, Chapter 3 deals with the interrelationship between preaching and the socio-political situation of different periods, beginning with 1884, the year Protestantism was introduced in Korea. In Chapter 4, four of the most influential Korean preachers and their content and style of preaching are introduced in order to compile the general characteristics of Korean preaching. In Chapter 5, the problems of Korean preaching are identified and some new suggestions, from the perspective of canonical criticism, are offered.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
1. Introduction	1
Problem Addressed by This Project	1
Importance of the Problem	3
Thesis	4
Terms Defined	5
Work Previously Done in the Field	7
Scope and Limitation of the Project	8
Procedure for Integration	9
Chapter Outline	9
2. Canonical Criticism and Its Importance as a Tool for Preaching	11
Canonical Criticism and Other Critical Disciplines	11
Canonical Process	15
Canonical Hermeneutics	19
Canonical Criticism and Preaching	22
Case Study: Jeremiah 28:1-11	24
3. Korean Preaching and Its Relationship to Social Changes in Modern Korean History	33
The Acceptance of Protestantism and Preaching under the Influence of Missionaries (1884-1907)	35
The Appearance of Korean Preachers, The Great Revival, and the Independence Movement (1907-1919)	41
Preaching and the Colonial Period of National Ordeal under Japanese Rule and the Liberation of Korea (1919-1945)	48

Korean War, the Seung-man Rhee Regime, and Korean Preaching (1945-1961)	53
Preaching during the Rehabilitation of Korea under dictator Chung-hee Park and two other dictators until the Seoul Summer Olympic Games (1961-1988)	58
The Period of Growth and Decline (1988-Present) ..	64
Conclusion	65
4. Great Korean Preachers and Revivalists and Their influence in the Korean Church	67
Kil Sun-joo: The Millenarian and Fundamentalist ..	68
Kim Ik-doo: The Faith-Healer	73
Lee Sung-bong: The Christian Nihilist and Other- Worldly Seeker	78
Yi Yong-do: The Spiritualistic Mystic	84
5. General Problems of Korean Preaching and New Suggestions from the perspective of Canonical Criticism	90
A Reflection on Preaching in the Period under three Dictators (1961-1988) from the perspective of Canonical Criticism	93
An Example of a Preaching Guide for the Korean Church from the Perspective of Canonical Criticism	97
6. Summary and Conclusion	112
Appendix: Brief Chart of Modern Korean History And Great Revival Rallies	115
Bibliography	117

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Problem Addressed by This Project

Today, many Korean preachers and theologians agree that a crisis exists in the Korean Church. Although the history of Protestant Christianity in Korea is only 110 years long, the Korean Church's growth has kept its pace with the country's rapid social, political and economical growth. In fact, presently more than 25 percent of all South Koreans are Christians. However, since the beginning of the 1990s, the growth of the Korean Church has slowed dramatically.

In the writer's opinion, this problem stems from the loss of interest in preaching by the younger generation of Koreans. On top of that, the Korean Church and its pastors have been severely scolded by the Korean society after the collapse of previous dictatorial regimes. They are being denounced by the public because the public believes that they did not perform their duties faithfully. The primary source of the anger comes from the peoples' beliefs that the preachers and the Korean pulpit were silent toward the oppressors during the 1960s - 1980s, when the Korean people were oppressed by several dictators. Have the Korean preachers preached the Word that was appropriate to the needs of the time? Was there a tendency to be silent toward the socio-economic and political issues that should have been

addressed? What was the attitude and content of preaching given the socio-economic and political situation that was peculiar to Korea at the time?

Many leading Korean preachers and theologians are worried about the present situation of the Korean Church, especially in the area of preaching. This writer strongly feels the urgency of this crisis and wants to call it *the age of turbulence in preaching*. Generally, Protestants emphasize the Word of God, with the act of preaching being the centerpiece of the worship service -- Korea is no exception to this rule. All Korean preachers emphasize the importance of preaching. However, their emphasis is mainly on the literal use of expository preaching. It is my belief that preaching can never function simply to tell the literal story of the Bible, or to interpret it to the congregation. Preaching is much more than restating the ideas of the Bible.

Unfortunately, it must be pointed out that there is an absence of both the theology of preaching and biblical/critical methodologies that can be used for preaching in Korea. A methodology is needed that can enhance and guide Korean preaching in the right direction. Thus, this project deals with the problems of Korean preaching and introduces canonical criticism, a biblical/critical methodology, that may enhance and enrich preaching in the Korean Church.

Importance of the Problem

What are the general problems of Korean preaching, if any, and how can they be overcome? Some Korean preachers have partially pointed out such problems and have tried to give some directions for Korean preaching. This paper is another attempt at this. This project will survey the problems of Korean preaching in the present time as well as in the past in Korea. To conclude, this writer will suggest an alternative methodology that can improve such problems in the Korean Church.

Generally speaking, Korean preachers seem to have the firm confidence that they have the God-given authority to preach and that this so called "charismatic authority" has been given only to them. The "herald of God image"¹ as a preacher is dominant among Korean preachers. If a preacher stands in this position, the message preached from the pulpit cannot be a one-way communication in which the congregation is largely ignored. As Thomas Long points out, "the herald image fails to take adequate account of the context of preaching."² Korean preachers have to realize that the needs of the congregation must be seriously considered, because a preacher comes from within the community of faith.

Yet another problem of Korean preaching is related to the understanding of the Bible. Many Korean preachers freely employ a

¹ Thomas G. Long, The Witness of Preaching (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1989), 23-30.

² Ibid., 29.

number of seemingly unrelated verses from various places in the Bible during a sermon. Korean preachers have a tendency to look at the whole Bible in unity. But in fact, "unity is not to be found in the Bible but in God."³ There are many other problems in Korean preaching besides the free use of the Bible. The literal use of expository preaching is another one of the problems.

In order to overcome such problems and to make Korean preaching more powerful and biblical, this writer wants to introduce a biblical/critical methodology to the Korean Church. This alternative methodology will be a worthy guide for Korean preaching.

Thesis

The thesis of this project is that canonical criticism can be an important tool that can diagnose and overcome the problems of preaching in the Korean Church. Other critical disciplines are also helpful in enhancing preaching. However, it seems that other biblical/historical criticisms lock the Bible into the past. They are rather rigid in applying their principles in preaching. The methods and contents of canonical criticism are more helpful and dynamic as an application to preaching today. Canonical criticism makes us not only aware that "the Bible is full of internal dialogue, both within each Testament and between the two,"⁴ but also facilitates a more appropriate dialogue

³ Ibid., 120.

⁴ James A. Sanders, "Scripture as Canon for Post-Modern Times," Biblical Theology Bulletin 25 (summer 1995): 62.

between the past and the present. Canonical criticism does this by providing "the range of that dialogue and the canonical hermeneutics by which the constant re-appropriations took place [and by providing] a paradigm by dynamic analogy for the continuing canonical process in believing communities today."⁵

Terms Defined

Canon⁶

The word "canon" comes from the Greek *Kanon*, meaning "measuring stick." By extension it came to mean "rule" or "standard," a tool used for determining proper measurement. Whereas the Koran is viewed in Islam as a direct revelation from God, the Jewish and Christian canons are viewed as human testimonies to God's revelations; a record of human responses to divine revelations.

There are two basic uses of the word canon: one refers to the shape of a limited body of sacred literature; the other refers to its function. Traditionally it is viewed as both **an authoritative collection of books** (*norma normata* - shape) and **a collection of authoritative books** (*norma normans* - function). The word "shape" refers, however, to more than the number and order of books contained in a community's canon; and the word "function" refers to more than how a community uses its canon. Both terms include consideration of pre- and proto-canonical

⁵ Ibid., 62.

⁶ This definition of canon is based on lectures presented by James A. Sanders, Professor of Intertestamental and Biblical Studies, Claremont School of Theology.

literary and historical factors as well as factors resulting from the eventual stabilization of text and canon. Canon means both the original words and the early community's responses to them.

Canonical Criticism

The task of ferreting out the hermeneutics used by the ancient biblical thinkers and authors themselves may be the most important task facing canonical criticism. The principal tools of canonical criticism are tradition history and comparative midrash. Canonical criticism involves giving constant attention to the hermeneutics which resulted from the authoritative tradition that can be traced within the sociological context where the texts have been repeated or recited. The focus is on the canonical process.

In doing so, a very useful tool is the hermeneutic triangle.⁷ It helps the researcher keep in mind the necessary and essential inter-relatedness of the three major factors always involved in the canonical process. The bottom left angle represents the tradition or text being called upon, recited, or alluded to (stability). The bottom right angle of the triangle represents the historical and sociological context addressed (adaptability). The interrelation of these two is the nexus of the Word of God. That is, the word of God happens or takes place at the nexus of text and context. Thus the top angle represents the hermeneutics by which the tradition functions in the context of community both present and past.

⁷For diagram, refer to page 19.

Therefore, canonical criticism focuses especially upon the unrecorded hermeneutics which lie in and between all the lines of meaning in the text. It is the hermeneutics used which determine the meaning of the text. One's ears and eyes can be opened by the appropriate hermeneutics to hear and see the unexpected and deeper meanings of a text.

Works Previously Done in the Field

In Korea, many preachers tend to publish their own collections of sermons, religious meditations or faith essays as if they compete with one another. In contrast to this trend, research and studies on homiletics are seriously lacking. Although there are some works done in the field of homiletics, they are usually research papers done at the master's level.

Korean preachers are simply unfamiliar with such a useful tool as the biblical/critical methodology of canonical criticism. Canonical criticism is not only a very influential modern biblical methodology, but it is also a very useful tool for preaching. Canonical criticism began with the work of two great scholars of the late 1960s -- James A. Sanders and Brevard Childs. However, it may be safe to say that it is primarily the work of Sanders since "Childs does not like the name 'canonical criticism' because that sounds to him as though canonical criticism is simply one more method to be applied to the text. He prefers to speak of the 'canonical perspective' as a total context within which the Bible is interpreted."⁸

⁸ Ronald J. Allen, Contemporary Biblical Interpretation for Preaching (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1984), 152.

Throughout this project, I am indebted to the writings of James A. Sanders. All the ideas and information about canonical criticism in this project come not only from his books and articles, but also from his class lectures.

The issue of how effectively this canonical criticism can be used in preaching is hinted at by Ronald J. Allen in his book Contemporary Biblical Interpretation for Preaching. Here Allen suggests how canonical criticism can be used in modern preaching under the title of "Canonical Criticism: The Problem of Contemporary Authority."⁹

Scope and Limitation of the Project

There are many scholars who study canonical criticism. However, James A. Sanders and Brevard Childs are the major representatives in the area because canonical criticism is associated mainly with the work of these two scholars from the late 1960s. But the central difference between these two is that Childs focuses on the Bible as canonical literature and a canonical product, while Sanders focuses on the canonical process.¹⁰ In this project, I will primarily follow the position taken by James A. Sanders, because it is also my belief that canon as function precedes canon as shape.

⁹ In developing the thesis of this project, this writer is indebted to several other modern American preaching scholars such as Fred B. Craddock and Thomas G. Long. Even if they do not use canonical criticism as a main tool for preaching, they furnish very useful information for modern preachers.

¹⁰ Sanders, "Scripture as Canon," 60.

The main purpose of this project is to illuminate and examine Korean preaching from the perspective of canonical criticism.¹¹ In examining 110 years of Korean preaching, this writer is concerned about the inter-relationship between the economical, social and political conditions and characteristics of each period, and the sermons that have been preached during those particular times.

Procedure for Integration

After an examination of canonical criticism, this method will be applied to several Korean preachers who have preached throughout Korean Protestant Church history. In doing so, a number of general problems of preaching in the Korean Protestant Church will be identified. With the methodology of canonical criticism and the problems of Korean preaching identified, the writer will attempt to present how preaching can be brought to a new height by the methodology of canonical criticism. It is my assurance that, with the tool of canonical criticism, Korean preaching will be enhanced and enriched.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 2 introduces what canonical criticism is and why it is an important tool for preaching. This writer will briefly survey the history of canonical criticism and its influence and significance in the modern era. This chapter's primary focus will

¹¹ The Korean Protestant Church's history is about one hundred and ten years long, and this writer thinks that it is rather hubris to deal with all the sermons published over the last hundred and ten years. Therefore, the writer consulted mainly the Hankook Kidokkyo Sunkyo Baekchoonyun Kinyum Sulkyojip [Hundred Years of Great Preaching in the Korean Church], 12 vols. and other main research and studies on one hundred years of preaching in the Korean Church.

be on the relationship between the Bible and preaching within the perspective of canonical criticism.

Chapter 3 examines historical preaching in Korean Church history. Korean Church history will be divided into several periods according to the changes of the times from the early Korean Protestant Church in 1884 to today. Further, this writer will analyze how sermons have been preached throughout Korean church history.

Chapter 4 describes four famous Korean preachers whose dominant influence has shaped Korean faith and theology, as well as Korean preaching throughout the history of Korean Protestant Christianity.

Chapter 5 describes general problems of Korean preaching based on the previous chapters. These problems will be examined within the perspective of canonical criticism. At the same time, a new direction of preaching for the Korean Church will be suggested. Canonical criticism offers insight for the problems of preaching in the Korean Church, not only because canonical criticism provides both stability and adaptability in interpreting the Bible, but also because it deals, in a way quite different from other critical disciplines, with contemporary significance.¹²

Chapter 6 will be a summary and conclusion.

¹²Allen, 118.

CHAPTER 2

Canonical Criticism and Its Importance as a Tool for Preaching¹

Canonical Criticism and Other Critical Disciplines

In biblical studies, there are several areas of biblical criticism including source criticism, form criticism, textual criticism, literary criticism, rhetorical criticism, redaction criticism, narrative criticism, and canonical criticism. These biblical criticisms are the result of various ways in which to understand the written scriptures more accurately. Biblical criticisms try to find the author(s) and the date and original sources of a certain part of the Bible. Through biblical criticisms, scholars found that the Torah, for example, is composed of several sources. Some parts of the Torah were handed down to the next generation in written form, however many were handed down through memorization and citation from generation to generation. Until the Torah was completed in its written form, many sources were blended. It is agreed that even the written Torah that we have today has been edited and altered by the editor(s) as it was passed down to the next generation according to the needs and circumstances of the times. The editor(s) has

¹This chapter is based mainly on the lectures, articles, and books by James A. Sanders of the Claremont School of Theology. The lecture material is derived from the following courses taught by Sanders: "Basic Aspects of the Study of the Old Testament"(Fall 1993), "The Book of Job"(Spring 1995), and "The Bible as Canon"(Spring 1996).

demonstrated special interest in applying the text to the given socio-economical situation and political situation of their times. Therefore, the Torah is influenced by the ideals of the editor(s).

Source criticism tries to analyze the text and seek the original source, the author(s), and the date. Through source criticism, scholars found that for many books of the Bible, a single author was not the author of the whole book. Rather it was comprised of several sources that had been written by several authors. Redaction criticism tries to figure out the intentions of the editors of the text. Editors, in a sense, could not help editing by choosing some of the materials that had been delivered to them orally or in written forms. And in the Scriptures, there are many literary forms such as poetry, prophecy, wisdom, parable and so on. Form criticism is a discipline which attempts to study specific forms in the text, and compares the socio-political contexts of different biblical communities.

Text criticism is a critical study of ancient manuscripts or versions of texts for the purpose of ascertaining the correct reading of the original meaning of the texts by comparing manuscripts. There are four phases of transmission of the texts. First is the Urtext period that is original or autographical. But it is generally agreed that it is impossible to find the original texts. The second phase of transmission is "accepted text." While the Urtext is the "oral law" that had been delivered and read orally, in the accepted text the oral tradition is accepted by the community or communities in a written form. And the

manuscripts which were accepted came to have authority in the communities. The third phase is the "received text." Here the text came to have an authority because, in the "accepted period," the texts were to be in a stage stability. That means in this third stage, the text needs to be interpreted and hermeneutics plays an important role. Lastly, the fourth stage is the Masoretic period. In this period, sometime between the sixth and tenth century C.E., the vowels and the accents were added to the biblical texts. So in this period, the reading of the texts was fixed. Consequently, it is probable to acknowledge that there may be many differences and errors among thousands of manuscripts since they had to pass through such a long time to be fixed. It is rather natural for us to acknowledge that there was a long history of hand-copying of the texts from generation to generation. So the main purpose of text criticism is to compare the variety of copies of the texts. In the study of text criticism, ancient languages such as Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek are necessary.

Canonical criticism, however, is a set of tools for reading the Bible critically, helped by several methods of biblical criticisms mentioned above, as well as archaeology and philology. But canonical criticism moves beyond them by focusing on the *function* of the context of canon in the ancient believing communities. Sanders says, "my position does not require the critic to abandon any enduring result of biblical criticism or reasonable position taken I have often claimed that biblical criticism was a gift of God in due season, and that

canonical criticism is a supplement and a logical sequel to the earlier disciplines."² It is the process by which it held that the early believing communities cited, recited, formed and reformed the text up until the modern believing communities today.

Sanders says, "The word 'canon' comes from the Greek *canon*, 'measuring stick.' By extension it came to mean 'rule' or 'standard,' a tool used for determining proper measurement. Consequently, the word has come to be used with reference to the corpus of scriptural writings that is considered authoritative and standard for defining and determining 'orthodox' religious beliefs and practices."³ According to James A. Sanders, the word "canon," in general terms, means both the written words and the believing community. The word "canon" can be distinguished from the word "text." The word "text" just means the given words that can be given to us as a final form, but the word "canon" considers the ongoing believing communities that have cited, formed and reformed the text to fit the new changed context(s). There are several reasons why canonical criticism could not help emerging as a critical methodology. Sanders presents eight reasons for canonical criticism "as a way for the guild of biblical scholarship to respond to a number of stimuli":

(1) the increasing charges by many theologians, lay and professional that biblical criticism has tended to lock the Bible into the past as well as to make it a kind of archaeological tell which only experts can dig - what author

² Sanders, "Scripture as Canon," 61.

³ Sanders, "Canon and Hebrew Bible," The Anchor Bible Dictionary, vol. 1 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 837.

James Smart has called the strange silence of the Bible in the churches; (2) the vastly increased knowledge about the great variety of theologies and denominations in early Judaism and the early church and their differing canons of Scripture; (3) the modern ecumenical movement, which makes it impossible any longer to ignore the great variety of today's theologies and denominations as well as their differing canons of Scripture; (4) increasing awareness of the hermeneutics which the ancient biblical authors themselves used when they called on traditions they had inherited, in both the Old Testament and the New; (5) new respect for the theological depths in the hermeneutics of the ancient biblical speakers and writers (called tradents); (6) growing consciousness among serious students of the Bible that biblical pluralism simply will not go away but begs to be formally recognized as a blessing equal to any other the Bible has to offer; (7) more awareness that only in its ongoing dialogue with the believing communities which produced it and which continue to find their identity in it does the Bible have its proper *Sitz im Leben* and hence its life-giving potential; and, finally, (8) the problem of biblical authority for the student who refuses to set aside intellectual honesty in biblical study.⁴

Canonical Process

Currently, since the late 1960s, there have been two schools of thought regarding the Bible as canon which is mainly associated with the work of Sanders and Brevard Childs. Brevard Childs of Yale emphasizes the structure of the canon, so called "norma normata" -- in Latin it means "norm normed." His main concern is the final form of canon - formation, list and order of contents. James A. Sanders, however, emphasizes the function of canon, so called "norma normans" -- in Latin "norm norming." According to him, the structure, list, or order of contents is not unimportant, but is secondary. His main concern is the function through canonical process. Sanders mentions what is the difference between Childs and himself.

⁴ Sanders, "The Bible as Canon," Christian Century 98 (1981): 1250.

The central difference between Childs' work and mine, and I think we agree on this, is that while he focuses on the Bible as canonical literature, what the New Critics call the aesthetic dimension of the biblical narrative, I focus on the canonical process. Frank Spina(1982), who compares our work sees Childs as focusing on the canonical product and me on the canonical process. I coined the term *canonical criticism* for my work (Sanders 1972), but Childs (1978) has rejected the term in his focus on canonical context.⁵

Whoever reads the Bible, what we cannot help but acknowledge is that they read it in their own community's way. When reading the Scripture, there are various ways in which to understand any text. Some consider the Bible as a rule book, code book, a casket of jewels of wisdom, the word of God, a divine-human relationship, and many different things. When we read the Bible, however, we cannot regard it as a jewelry box, but as God's activity in history. To read the Bible as the divine-human encounter, the paradigm of God's activity, the rule is to "theologize first, and moralize later" which Sanders has emphasized repeatedly through his classes. When we read the Bible, we humans have a tendency to moralize it first. But to theologize first is to look at what God was doing with the people in the particular situation(s). The persons in the Bible are not the models of morality. Rather the Bible is the mirror of our reality.

Through the reading of the Bible, we can find that especially in the First Testament itself, the writing has been slightly modified in order to give new meaning to the needs of the new situation. This, as Sanders calls, is the canonical

⁵ Sanders, "Scripture as Canon," 60.

process. Through the canonical process, the text is cited, formed and reformed to fit the needs of a new changed situation(s). In understanding canonical process more deeply, the seven characteristics of Scripture as canon that Sanders represents are very important.

The seven characteristics of the new discipline are repetition, resignification, multivalency of single texts, pluralism within the Bible as a whole, the adaptability-stability quotient of canon, the textual restraints which guard against abuse of Scripture, and hermeneutics

(1) The first characteristic of canonical Scripture is *repetition*. What is in the canon got there because somebody repeated something, starting a process of recitation that has never ceased. Nothing anybody said or sang could have made it into canon unless somebody else repeated or copied it, and then any other and another did the same.

(2) The fact that each time a text got repeated it got *resignified*, or altered slightly to fit the new context of repetition or recitation, goes without sayings. Someone says wonderingly, "Every time I read that passage I get something new out of it." Right. Why? Because each new situation in which we read it gives us slightly different ears to hear and slightly different eyes to see what the passage can say. The original author may have had one thing in mind, but once what he or she said is "out there," it has a life of its own. Or (to use traditional terms) it is out here for the Holy Spirit to use as she sees fit, or (to see critical terms) it is subject to the hermeneutics applied to it the new context in which it is cited.

(3) Canonical literature is *multivalent*; that is, it may have plural meanings or values. The very fact that it made it into the canon would so indicate. Nearly any intelligible group of words held together of syntax is multivalent, but this is especially true of canon

(4) *Pluralism* is the fourth characteristic [According to his lecture, What we have to think here is that God is one and we are many. We humans always have ambiguity of reality, and only God had integrity of reality.]

(5) The fifth characteristic is canon's dual nature of being both adaptable and stable, its *adaptability-stability* quotient. Until the emergence of canonical criticism, biblical scholarship focused almost exclusively on the stability factor when thinking of Scripture as canon; that is, the question of what books are in a particular canon and what books are left out. For example, why is the Hebrew Book of Esther, which never mentions God explicitly, in the canon, whereas Judith, which is quite orthodox, was left out? It depends on which ancient or modern denomination one

is viewing But a modern canon also depends on which denomination one considers. Protestants have a short canon, Roman Catholics have the deuterocanonical or apocryphal writings in addition, the Greek Orthodox include yet more books, and the ancient Ethiopian church has 81 books in its canon. Canon is adaptable.

(6) Even so, the texts have built-in *constraints* that must be observed. While it is true that certain hermeneutic techniques such as numerology, allegory and tropology can make a passage say just about anything, canonical criticism draws attention to the limits imposed by the texts As heirs of the early tradents and scribes, it behooves us to honor their labors and to respect the texts they have passed on to us. [From one believing community to the other believing community, the canon has inherited with constraints and limits].

(7) The Bible is full of unrecorded *hermeneutics*, the seventh and perhaps most important characteristic of the Bible as canon. Nearly every biblical speaker or writer repeats or cites older traditions, or, in the case of the New Testament, Scripture. And they all, of course, used hermeneutics in doing so. We can now, for the most part, ferret out those principles Rather we mean the hermeneutic axioms the writers used; that is, their theology. German theologian Gerhard Ebeling has said that hermeneutics is theology and theology is hermeneutics. In the case of canonical hermeneutics it is the author's or tradent's view of God which makes a tremendous difference in how a passage is read and made relevant.⁶

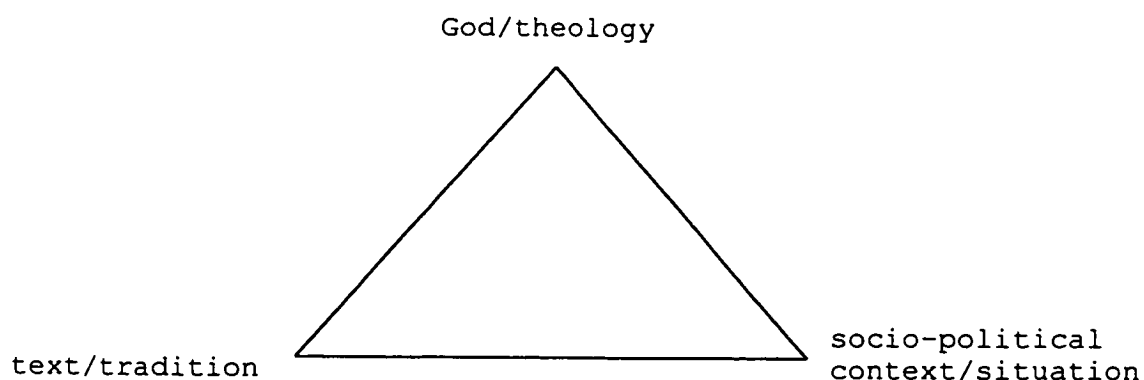
Comparative midrash and the hermeneutical triangle are also part of the methodology of canonical criticism. Comparative midrash is a new approach which began to emerge in the 1950s, to study the early Jewish interpretation of the Scripture. *Midrash* is a Hebrew word, found already in the Hebrew Bible, which basically means "quest." It comes from the verb *drash* which means "to seek." In early biblical idiom one sought God or a word from the deity, an oracle or answer to a question. One of the keys to proper understanding at this point is to remember to think of midrash as "quest" rather than as it is usually

⁶ Sanders, "Bible as Canon," 1252-53.

translated, "interpretation" or "explanation." Comparative midrash, as a tool of canonical criticism listens carefully to the tradition critics at this point, in so far as the tradition critic shows interest in how that tradition was called on and for what purpose. In canonical criticism, it is a good way to read the Bible both synchronically (with time) and diachronically (through time).

Canonical Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics in general terms is the art of understanding. In other word, hermeneutics is an interpretation, understanding, and explanation of a text (or of some specific pericope). To understand the hermeneutics of canonical criticism, the hermeneutical triangle of Sanders is very useful. The hermeneutical triangle is a way to bridge the gap between the text(s) and the reader(s), between the past and the present, and also between the text and contemporary cultural thought.



The hermeneutical triangle has three major factors.⁷ The bottom left angle of the triangle is text or tradition. When we read the Bible, especially the prophetic literature, we can notice several specific texts or traditions that the prophets used. Usually the text and tradition that prophets cited was the Torah story. They cited the Torah story as a canon or authority. The bottom right angle of the triangle is the socio-political situation. Prophets always understood the context that they faced very well. They applied the text or tradition very adequately to their socio-political situation. The top angle is hermeneutics about God. A prophet as a tradent interprets God as Creator as well as Redeemer in different contexts. Canonical Criticism's understanding of God is either God as Creator (Punisher and Destroyer) who punishes the people or God as Redeemer who saves the people. The God who punishes the people can save the people, too. As a tradent who has the image of God, the prophet understands and interprets God. And with the word of God, the prophet prophesied and carried the message from God. The prophet, as an emissary and a messenger, speaks to God for his people as well as speaks to his people for God.

Another important aspect in canonical hermeneutics is to apply the stability (the bottom left angle) to adaptability (the bottom right angle) which means we, interpreters as tradents, have the responsibility to translate the text in our contemporary situation. In Luke 10:26, Jesus said to the Pharisees, "What is

⁷ James A. Sanders, Canon and Community (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 77-78.

the Torah written, and *how do you read it?*" What and how? They are the key points in canonical hermeneutics. According to the hermeneutical triangle, we have to read the Torah (Scripture) in relation to the present time. It means we have to read it in relationship to the text and our contemporary situation (or our problems and issues). "The interrelation of these two - text and historical context, down to our own historical context - is the nexus of the Word of God. The same language in two different contexts may mean different things. The Word of God happens or takes place at the nexus of text and context. These very human words our ancestors in the faith have left us may become the Word of God over and over again as our situations and contexts change, and as the Holy Spirit wills."⁸

To interpret the Scripture more realistically, the "Three H's"⁹ -- Honesty, Humility, and Humor -- that Sanders suggests are very useful.

I have dwelt on honesty in terms of the pluralism in the Bible. But honesty also means making the effort, on reading any passage in the Bible, to theologize about it first rather than moralizing about it first. One should first ask not what the passage says we should do but what it indicates God can do with such a situation. Then it strikes us that God can also manage to redeem our situations - and that is the first note of salvation . . .

. One should theologize first, then moralize upon the result of that reflection. This liberates the reader from absolutizing Bronze-Age, Iron-Age, Persian-Period or Hellenistic-Roman mores, and helps him or her focus on what God can do with, and what we can do in, our own current reign of terror.

Besides honesty, humility is required: the ability to identify in the biblical accounts with Ramses, Nebuchadnezzar and Herod, or with the well-meaning false

⁸ Ibid., 78.

⁹ Sanders, "Bible as Canon," 1255.

prophets, soft-headed polytheizers and God-fearing Pharisees, in order to hear Scripture's challenge.

Last, humor is needed - and this means taking God a little more seriously each time we read Scripture and ourselves a little less so. The Bible as canon is a monotheizing literature, Old Testament and New, as the Christian trinitarian belief confirms and reaffirms.¹⁰

What Sanders emphasizes in this hermeneutical theory is that this hermeneutical triangle is an ongoing process, and still a good tool to apply in modern times. According to him, "As long as there is a canon with a believing community to tradition it, the canonical process is never-ending."¹¹

Canonical Criticism and Preaching

Sanders, "who has a more existential orientation than Childs, often writes in a way that is more directly homiletically accessible than Childs."¹² Therefore, it is beneficial to employ his methods in preaching. We can never stress enough the importance of the preacher in Protestant Christianity where the Word of God is the centerpiece of worship. The function and the responsibility of the preacher is more than simple reinterpretation of the text because the preacher is the interpretator of the text/tradition (the bottom left angel in the hermeneutical triangle) as well as the interpretator of the context, the social and political situation of the days. Literal interpretative preaching that neglects and ignores the needs (context) is preaching that ignores the adaptability of the text

¹⁰ Ibid., 1255.

¹¹ Sanders, Canon and Community, 77.

¹² Allen, 126.

and also ignores the nowness of preaching. In order to produce a better sermon that is relevant to the faith community, the hermeneutical triangle should be employed and kept in mind by preachers. For this to take place, the theology of the preacher is very important. Because the situation changes, the ways in which the preacher understands God and how the preacher applies God in their preaching plays an important role in producing preaching that is relevant to the faith community. On top of that, the preacher's understanding of the text is also important in producing relevant preaching. The left angle of the hermeneutical triangle, the understanding of the text, has been changing and is changing within the faith community. Therefore preaching that is based on the literal interpretation of the text/tradition is a source of misunderstanding and is misleading. Because the canon itself is a never-ending, on-going process, any preaching that ignores this fact and tries to apply the same message to a different situation at a different time should be avoided since this can be misleading to the faith community.

Therefore, the preacher should be an interpretator of both the text and the context in order to preach sermons that speak to the faith community at any given time. When this hermeneutical triangle is applied appropriately, preaching will be something that is powerful and useful within the faith community. A literal and rigid interpretation of scripture can endanger the true meaning of scripture as well as result in ignorance that does not understand the fact that the canon is an on-going process.

Case Study: Jeremiah 28:1-11

Ronald J. Allen, a professor of homiletics, presents several important key questions that are very useful in preparing sermons in the perspective of canonical criticism:

- (1) What was the function of this text in the community to which it was addressed? (Pastoral support? Prophetic challenge?)
- (2) What is the theological thrust of the passage which is important to the religious community beyond the situation to which the text was directed?
- (3) As I [the preacher] consider the situation of my congregation, are we in need of hearing the text as pastoral support or as prophetic challenge?
- (4) In order to hear this text appropriately, with whom do we identify?¹³

A case study from Jeremiah 28:1-11 from the perspective of canonical criticism will be demonstrated following the guidelines presented above.

1. Jeremiah chapters 27-29 are generally considered as portraying true and false prophets. These three chapters are unique. This one story is the one that separates these chapters from other chapters in the Book of Jeremiah. Traditionally biblical scholars regarded Jeremiah 28:1-11 as the culmination of the prophetic conflict between the so-called true prophet Jeremiah and the so-called false prophet Hananiah. According to this specific passage, the actual event, not the abstraction of it, occurred. The direct confrontation (historically based) between the prophet Jeremiah and the prophet Hananiah is dramatically described. What is the story then? What is operative in the text? What was the function of this text in the

¹³ Ibid., 123-25.

community? These kinds of questions cannot help being raised in terms of the assumption that this is the text that is unique in its own setting.

There is no precise agreement about the specific historical setting of Jeremiah 28:1-11. Walter Brueggemann talks about the book of Jeremiah.

The Book of Jeremiah is held to contain a core of Jeremiah's work, which has been subsequently expanded, reshaped, and reinterpreted to meet later needs. The Book of Jeremiah is the record and residue of that long process of redaction in the interest of ongoing contemporaneity.¹⁴

Brueggemann continues by citing Robert P. Carroll: "Carroll regards the present form of the Book of Jeremiah as an intentionally redactive work of the sixth century exile. That redactional work used existing materials from the time of Jeremiah; but the recasting has been complete, to serve the religious needs of the exile communities."¹⁵

Jeremiah's prophetic activity began during the reign of King Josiah. Most of Jeremiah's career was profoundly affected by the political instability brought about by the pressures of the Babylonians on Judah. The Book of Jeremiah connects Jeremiah's prophecies mainly with the following kings - Josiah, Jehoiakim, and Gedaliah. Jeremiah's prophecy is the product of fiercely troubled times. The events in the book of Jeremiah begin during the reign of king Josiah in 626 B.C.E.(1:2) and end with king

¹⁴Walter Brueggemann, "Jeremiah, Intense Criticism, Thin Interpretation," Interpretation, A Journal of Bible and Theology 42, no. 3 (July 1988): 269.

¹⁵Ibid., 270.

Jehoiakim's death in exile sometime after 582 B.C.E.(52:34). Three times Judah revolted, and each time Babylon invaded (597, 587, and 582). With each invasion, leading citizens and members of the upper classes were deported to Babylon. In the invasion of 587, Babylon destroyed Jerusalem. In the period before Babylonian control, Jeremiah prophesied Judah's imminent destruction.

In this historical background, we can infer the historical setting of this pericope a little more clearly. The direct confrontation between the prophet Hananiah and the prophet Jeremiah might have actually happened between the first and the second exile. There is a big contradiction between the two prophets. Hananiah prophesizes that God will shortly bring home from exile those deported to Babylon. He announces that "within two years"(vv. 3 and 11) God will break the yoke of Babylon and bring back all the exiled people to Judah from Babylon.

On the contrary, the prophet Jeremiah prophesizes the downfall and the destruction of Jerusalem. At the time of their confrontation, the distinction between the true prophet and the false prophet was not as easily discerned. This situation tells us that the direct confrontation between the two prophets occurred between the first exile (597 B.C.E.) and the second exile (587 B.C.E.). After the downfall of the nation in 587 B.C.E., history had vindicated Jeremiah's words and shown Hananiah to have been a false prophet.

The other thing we cannot overlook in this passage is the historical setting to which the redactor(s) belonged. Even if we presume the date of the actual happening in Jeremiah 28:1-11 to

be between 597 B.C.E. and 587 B.C.E., it would be more difficult to find out the date when this passage was finally redacted. What we can understand is that the passage might have been reshaped or redacted by the final redactor(s) under the necessity of the community to which he/she belonged.

2. What concepts, then, are presupposed in this particular text? What kind of theology is related to this particular text to contribute to the horizon of the First Testament all around? What differentiates what we call the "true" prophet from what we call the "false" prophet? Does the text give criterion to clearly decide who's true and who's false? If there is/are criterion(criteria) about it, does the criterion have the same validity to every community in an ever-changing history? Or is it standard, for instance, only in Jeremiah's time and perhaps Hananiah's?

Through the careful study of this pericope, there is a difference between the two prophets. Their theology was different, and their understanding of God in their own socio-political setting was different. In my understanding, the prophet Hananiah emphasized God as Redeemer in his own interpretation of the time. With confidence, he prophesied the imminent salvation of God from exile in Babylon within two years. In this situation, all the Israelites might welcome his message and perhaps his passion.

But contrary to Hananiah's prophecy, Jeremiah prophesied the downfall and the destruction of Jerusalem. It was yet his agony to announce the bad news to his own people since he also had to

be included in that transformation. All the Israelites might have hated his message. But he, though it was difficult, could not help prophesying such a disaster toward Judah. It is my understanding that underneath the text and its structural analysis, Jeremiah's interpretation of the time and his hermeneutics might have been in tension between the two hermeneutic poles of the understanding of the oneness of God: God as Redeemer, as well as God as Creator. Jeremiah fully understood that the God who redeemed us can always destroy us anytime and anywhere, because our death is God's too. Even when we think we are right and perfect, it is yet under the control of God. Certainly Jeremiah wanted Hananiah's prophecy to be fulfilled and he was really jealous of him. Who would not want to preach such a joyful and uplifting message from God. Jeremiah even said, "Amen! May the Lord do so; may the Lord fulfill the words that you prophesied, and bring back to this place from Babylon the vessels of the house of the Lord, and all the exiles" (v.6 NRSV). But Jeremiah could not help but prophesy the destruction of Jerusalem, because Jeremiah believed that the true Restoration and, perhaps, God's new creation could be accomplished only through the tough time of God's judgment and transformation under God's own proclamation of the time. It is the basic conceptuality throughout the entire text that God's judgment is imminent and inevitable due to the stiffness of all the hearts of Israel. Yet, this transformation in the form of God's judgment is portrayed as the discipline of God when it is narrated as it is. It is sure throughout the text that God's salvation is already

started but this time it is in the form of discipline. Thus the way to get there is tough and rough. Yet, what is amazing throughout the entire text is the community's struggle to monotheize over the threat of polytheizing tendencies (Hananiah's god is a good god and Jeremiah's is a bad one) and still pursue the oneness of God, and the integrity of realities (here Jeremiah's and Hananiah's and, perhaps, the narrator's) though it might have been difficult. Thus this pericope is not just an every day happening but the sacred one through which ancient believing communities wrestled, recited, and transmitted all the way down to us. And it was narrated precisely because it was adaptable for life.

If the socio-political situation changes, the message can also be changed precisely because the need of the community would be different. This is represented as the bottom right angle according to Sanders. It is true that what we call the true prophet might turn out to be the false prophet in another situation and, vice versa. In this sense, Sanders' theory of the hermeneutical triangle is well fitted to this puzzling text.

3. In the next step we ask what is really intended throughout the text and how do we interpret it in our situation? First of all, the text is tough and its message is also tough. And if we try to moralize when we first read the text, the criterion to decide who is the true prophet and who is the false prophet is ambiguous. However, when we theologize, though it is hard, it makes sense. In fact, how can a good God not use Hananiah as God used Jeremiah? Why did God not want to return

the people within two years? What is accomplished by the death of Hananiah? This is moralizing. However, this is not (I believe) what the text is really intended to say. What is really intended is that the text tells us to take God more seriously when we read the Bible. Though it is tough, it is the struggle of the believing community to believe and have confidence that it is the one God who is the God of the rising and falling of the nation as well as the life and the death of prophets. Thus one should not absolutize the one aspect of God in any historical juncture. The Bible thus, should not be viewed as a jewelry box where one goes in order to find ready-made answers, the "Truth," that can be applied to different socio-political and economical situations of each era. However, we should search the Bible with the belief that we can see the paradigm of God throughout human errors as the following phrase says, *Errore Hominum Providentia Divina*.¹⁶ Thus it is helpful when Sanders emphasizes,

The Bible is full of unrecorded hermeneutics recoverable by the use of a triangle of the interrelationship of ancient traditions or texts repeated in particular historical contexts of the believing community by use of certain hermeneutics.¹⁷

As a preacher and minister, we not only must understand the text more correctly, but grasp our socio-political situation accurately. Yet, one of the main tasks in our ministry is to pursue the Oneness of God. Understanding the Text in pursuing

¹⁶ James A. Sanders, God Has a Story Too: Sermons in Context (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 135.

¹⁷ James A. Sanders, From Sacred Story to Sacred Text: Canon as Paradigm (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 171.

God's integrity and its function in the believing community is the key to appropriately understanding the entire Bible precisely because "the Bible as canon is a monotheizing literature (and the true *Sitz im Leben* of the Bible belongs to the believing community whether past or present)."¹⁸ What we find when we carefully search the Scripture, is the community's struggle to monotheize and their resistance over the threat of any kind of polytheizations. God is God. All the more, that God is one God. Thus, if it is God who gives us a gift, that same God can take it back anytime God sees fit. Thus we should not resist but honestly, humbly and humorously at the same time, acknowledge the fact that whom we call God is not only the Creator, but the Redeemer and at the same time, the Destroyer.

4. The other task of a preacher is to clarify with whom do we identify in order to hear this text appropriately. But in this pericope, it is not important to identify with anyone. Rather in order to hear this text more properly, a preacher has to keenly understand the situation (and perhaps the need of his/her community) to which he/she belongs. Here, in this text, the two prophets might have had their own careful interpretation of their time and they had to prophesy to meet the need of their community. In fact, it is not hard to imagine that both of them, when they preached, might have been threatened by different groups of people in different needs. Hananiah might be welcomed by his own people, but he might be menaced by the Babylonians,

¹⁸ Sanders, "Bible as Canon," 1255.

and, vice versa to Jeremiah. In fact, they were at a crucial juncture in history. Yet, Hananiah might have misinterpreted whether the right time had already come for him to comfort his people. On the contrary, the message of Jeremiah comes from the opposite side. In fact, God will come, this time, to shock God's own people in the enemy's presence and God will lead the operation of open-surgery on all the hearts of Israel. Then, God's new creation will begin. If this is not so, God's grace might be cheap!

CHAPTER 3

Korean Preaching and Its Relationship to Social Changes
in Modern Korean History

As Leonardo Boff states, "Christianity cannot be found outside of history; it only exists in its historical concretizations."¹ When we comment on Korean preaching, we can not help but mention the interrelationship between the social, economic and political situations and the sermons that were preached in those peculiar situations. Korean church historians divide the history of Korean Protestant Christianity in different ways according to their own perspectives. A Minjung theologian, Chai-yong Choo, divides it into five periods: The Period of Acceptance (1876-1896); The Formative Period of the Church of the Minjung (1896-1919); The Depoliticization Period (1919-1932); The Period of the Babylonian Captivity (1932-1960); and The Period of Awakening (1960-the present).²

Another Korean Church historian, Chung-shin Park, divides as follows: The Acceptance of Protestantism in the Late Choson Period (1884-1905), The Expansion of Protestant Christianity During the Colonial Period (1905-1945), The Protestant Church Under Foreign Occupation (1945-1948), The Seung-man Rhee Regime

¹ Leonardo Boff, Church: Charism and Power, trans. John W. Diercksmeier (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1985), 69.

² Chai-yong Choo, "A Brief Sketch of a Korean Christian History from the Minjung Perspective," in Minjung Theology (Singapore: Christian Conference of Asia, 1981), 69-76.

and the Church (1948-1960), The Student Revolution, the Second Republic, the Park Chung-hee Regime, and the Church (1960-1979), and Liberal Christian Activism Against Dictatorships (1960s-1980s).³ However, regardless of their peculiar perspectives, there is a general agreement that Korean Protestant Christianity began in 1884.

It is important to note that this chapter is not to illuminate Korean Church history per se in specific perspectives such as Minjung theology or the interpretation of Korean politics. The main focus in introducing Korean Christian history is to compare the inter-relationships between the socio-political situation of modern Korea and preaching in the Korean Church. What kind of sermons were preached in each situation? What have been the characteristics of preaching in each context, if any?

With this in mind, I have divided Korean Protestant Christianity into six major periods as follows: the Acceptance of Protestantism and Preaching under the influence of missionaries (1884-1907); the Appearance of Korean preachers, the Great Revival, and the Independence Movement (1907-1919); Korean preaching during the Colonial Period of national ordeal under Japanese Rule and the Liberation of Korea (1919-1945); Korean preaching during the Korean War and the Seung-man Rhee Regime (1945-1961); the Korean preaching during the Rehabilitation of Korea under dictator Park Chung-hee and two other dictators until

³Chung-shin Park, Protestant Christians and Politics in Korea, 1884-1980s, Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1987 (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1987), ii-iii.

the Seoul Olympic Summer Games (1961-1988); and the period of growth and decline (1988-present). In this chapter, I would like to look at the content of messages and the possible relationship, if there is any, between the socio-political and economical situation and preaching as well as examine, if there is no apparent relationship between the situation and preaching, the reasons why the situation did not affect the content of preaching. I would also like to take a look at how the preachers employed biblical themes, and what styles of preaching were widely used i.e. topical, textual, or expository, in their preaching.

The Acceptance of Protestantism and Preaching under the
Influence of Missionaries (1884-1907)

Korean Protestant Christianity began with two missionaries entering Korea in 1884. One was Dr. Robert S. Maclay, the Superintendent of the Methodist Mission, and the other was Dr. Horace N. Allen (1858-1932, Korean name - Ahn Ryeon) who came to Korea as a medical missionary under the Presbyterian Board of the U.S.A. "On March 31, [1884], Dr. Maclay received notification of the formal organization of the Korea Mission from Bishop C. H. Fowler, who appointed Maclay [the first] Superintendent [of the Korea Mission], Appenzeller Assistant Superintendent, and Scranton Mission Treasurer."⁴ And in June, 1884, Rev. Maclay, accompanied by his wife, made the visit to Korea.⁵ But the

⁴ Lak-Geon George Paik, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910 (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1980), 112.

⁵ Ibid., 82.

MacLays did not reside in Korea. On the other hand, Horace N. Allen was the first Protestant missionary to come with the intention of residing permanently in Korea.⁶ He formally opened the government hospital -- called Kwang Hye Won, meaning Widespread Relief House -- on April 10, 1885.⁷

On April 5, Easter Sunday of 1885, Rev. Horace Grant Underwood and Rev. Henry Gerhart Appenzeller and his wife landed at Inchon port. They were the first clerical missionaries to Korea. Both of them were American missionaries. Underwood was appointed by the Presbyterian Mission Board. Appenzeller was sent by the Methodist Church. A month later, on May 3, Methodist missionaries William B. Scranton and his mother, Mrs. M. F. Scranton, came to Korea.⁸ On April 27, Appenzeller started a new church - now Chungdong Methodist church. And on Sep. 27, 1887, under the guidance of Underwood, the Saemoonan Presbyterian church was founded and the church elected two lay-elders. In the same year, Sorae church -- the first Korean Protestant church to build a new church building by themselves -- was also founded.⁹ And on April 27, 1889, Underwood baptized 33 Koreans at Apnokkang river and started a new church at Euijoo, and then at Pyongyang.

⁶ Ibid., 97.

⁷ Ibid., 106.

⁸ Kyung-bae Min, Hankook Kidok Kyohyoesa [A history of the Korean Christian Church] (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1983), 28.

⁹ Sung-kuh Chung, Hankook Kyohyoe Sulkyosa [A history of preaching in the Korean Church] (Seoul: Presbyterian General Assembly Theological Seminary Press, 1986), 28.

It was the Changdaehyun church that not only Kil Sun-joo (whose preaching style and content will be dealt with in Chapter Four) served in, but also where the Great Revival started. After Appenzeller and Underwood came to Korea, many missionaries from different denominational backgrounds entered Korea: the Australia Presbyterian Church and Baptist Church (1889), Episcopal Church (1890), the Southern Methodist Church of U.S.A. (1896), The Seventh-Day Adventist Church (1904), and The Salvation Army (1908). What is remarkable in this period is that a new denomination, founded by Koreans, was organized. The Korean Evangelical Holiness Church (KEHC) was founded in 1907 without the help of foreign missionaries.

In this period, Choson (the former name of Korea) was in a very difficult situation within and outside its borders. Choson's internal problems were complicated by some new factors -- foreign interests and invasions into the country which in the end led to the fall of Choson. Choson had had relationships with neighboring countries, Japan and China, and much of these were unpleasant. Now Choson was forced to have new diplomatic ties with the Western countries to which they had no prior relations. Most of the contacts between Choson and the Western countries were hostile during this period.

Many Asian countries were suspicious of Christian evangelists, believing that they were serving the imperialistic designs of the West. The missionaries were identified with serving the interests of the governments from which they came. Korea was not an exception. Early Protestant missionaries found a

more anti-Western, anti-Christian atmosphere in the Hermit Kingdom, Choson, than in other Asian countries.¹⁰ Under such circumstances, medical and educational works proved to be the best method for mission at the time. The early missionaries tried to establish their good image among the Koreans by providing them modern education and medical treatment. As Horace N. Allen opened the first modern hospital in Korea, missionaries opened new schools and introduced Korean young people to modern education.¹¹

¹⁰ Chung-shin Park summarizes several historical factors that combined to produce these unfavorable conditions for evangelism. "First of all, the politico-cultural structure of the Choson dynasty produced an anti-Western political atmosphere. At its founding in 1392, the Choson dynasty proclaimed neo-Confucianism as its ideological orthodoxy and Sinocentric tributary relation as its international policy. The powerful aristocratic families (Yangban class) could not accept culturally and politically the existence of the West Second, the factional politics of the dynasty also strengthened the anti-Western, anti-Christian attitude of the ruling class, and made Koreans keep away from Westerners and things Western. For example, some Koreans came into contact with Western Civilization, including Catholicism, through China—the only doorway to the outside world in the seventeenth century. Later they accepted Catholic Christianity as a religion, and converts numbered tens of thousands by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, however, the early history of Catholicism in Korea was deeply colored by the vortex of factional politics Third, the aggressive activity of Western powers such as France and the United States was equally responsible for the Koreans' anti-Western, anti-Christian attitude. Western warships frequently appeared on the seashore of the Hermit Kingdom to demand the opening of trade and an explanation of the persecution of Catholic priests Most Koreans came to identify Christianity with Western imperialism Last, Catholic converts themselves were also responsible for the strengthening of Korea's xenophobia. For example, there were the so-called Hwang Sa-young (Alexander Hwang) Incident and a series of other serious challenges. The Confucian officialdom found in 1801 that Hwang, a Catholic convert, had prepared a letter to the French bishop in Peking. In the letter Hwang proposed that foreign powers intervene diplomatically as well as militarily to exact a guarantee of freedom for all Korean Catholics. The result was not religious freedom but organized persecution by the Confucian officials who took the official position. All these events combined to bring forth a stronger xenophobia in Korea before the arrival of Protestantism, compared with neighboring Asian countries." Chung-shin Park, 35-39.

¹¹ Methodist missionaries opened modern schools in Seoul (Paejae Haktang and Ehwa Haktang in 1886), and Presbyterian missionaries opened new schools in Seoul (Kyungshin Hakkyo in 1886 and Chungshin Yo Hakkyo [Chungshin Women's School] in 1890).

With lots of conflicts and struggles within and outside of Korea, Choson could no longer resist the outside pressure to open its borders. Timothy Lee, in his Ph.D. dissertation, describes the political situation of Korea at this time.

Finally, in 1876, compelled by Japan's gunboat diplomacy, Choson grudgingly signed its first modern diplomatic treaty with that nation - much the same way Japan did with the United States in 1853, under duress and guaranteeing extraterritoriality to the other party. Shortly, similar treaties followed suit with the United States (1882), Germany (1882), England (1884), Russia (1884), and France (1886).¹²

Given this situation, what and how would the early missionaries preach to the Korean people? They would have to overcome the language barrier and cultural obstacles as well as their own psychological difficulties associated with being isolated in a hostile foreign land. At the same time, they had to overcome the deep-rooted anti-Western and anti-Christian attitude of Koreans. The Korean church, in this period, was under the absolute influence of missionaries since the first Korean ordained pastors did not appear until 1907. Because of the language obstacle, the missionaries may not have been able to preach satisfactorily to the Korean people. With the awkward language of the missionaries' sermons, Korean people who were subjected to personal oppression and political suppression by Japan could not have been consoled. Through the written sermons

¹² Timothy S. Lee, Born-Again in Korea: The Rise and Character of Revivalism in (South) Korea, 1885-1988, Ph. D. diss., University of Chicago, 1996 (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1996), 29.

which were published later, we find that their sermons were very simple and evangelical in nature.¹³

The early missionaries' sermons that we have were those published in the 1920s. Shinhak-Sekye [Theology World] was published by the Methodist Church in 1916, Shinhakjinam [The Theological Review] was published by the Pyongyang Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in 1918, and Hwalchon [The Living Water] was published by the Evangelical Holiness Church in 1924. All three provide us with the sermons of the missionaries.¹⁴ In 1920, The Collection of Underwood's Sermons was published by his wife after Underwood's death. This is the first book published as a collection of sermons in Korea. However, these sermons were not exactly what Rev. Underwood preached while in Korea. These sermons were actually a collection of the sermons preached in the United States after Underwood was ordained as a pastor. These sermons were translated into Korean, but it would be safe to assume that these sermons must have carried the same message that was preached in the early Korean Church. From such material, we find that early missionaries' sermons were not only topical sermons that employed lots of illustrations but also ones that encouraged the use of many stories and illustrations in sermons. From that time on, this sermon style was handed down from generation to generation.¹⁵

¹³ Sung-kuh Chung, 30.

¹⁴ Ibid., 30.

¹⁵ Ibid., 30-32.

The early missionaries who came to Korea were mainly descendants of pietism. They emphasized the experience of faith, sin and judgment, focused on personal salvation, and concentrated their effort on starting new churches.¹⁶ Generally speaking, they were not only fundamentalists, but the offspring of Puritanism. The main characteristics of fundamentalism are the emphasis on the inerrancy of the Bible, and resistance to modern theology and any form of biblical criticism. Another tenet was to reject those who did not agree with their faith and their theological perspectives.¹⁷ The Korean Church adopted the fundamental theology and faith of the early missionaries. From that time on, the theology and faith of the Korean Church has been formed within this boundary.

The Appearance of Korean Preachers, the Great Revival,
and the Independence Movement (1907-1919)

A remarkable year in the history of Korean Protestant Christianity was 1907, especially in the history of preaching in the Korean Church. In 1907, the Korean Church had a Great Revival that was a watershed in the history of Korean Protestantism. As L. George Paik states, the great revival of 1907 was "the spiritual rebirth of the Korean Church," that "gave to the Christian Church in Korea a character which is its own."¹⁸

¹⁶ Chung-hoon Seo, "The Growth of Korean Presbyterian Church and the Faith of Missionaries in the Early Korean Church," in Kyohyoewa Shinhak [Church and theology], Vol. 13 (Seoul: Presbyterian Theological Seminary Press, 1981), 176.

¹⁷ Ibid., 181.

¹⁸ Paik, 374.

In the same year, Pyongyang Theological Seminary produced the first graduates, seven Korean ordained pastors. From that time on, sermons have been preached by Korean Church leaders and pastors, even though the Korean Church was still under the influence of missionaries. The sermons preached by missionaries were limited in their effect because of their awkward language. But the message preached by Korean preachers was more powerful and was able to evoke the Korean people's sympathy more readily.

In this period, Korea was in a very unstable state politically and economically. There was the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. Through the period of these two wars, Korea was the scapegoat. Korea was caught between the rival powers and Japan assumed a protectorate over Korea in 1905 during the Russo-Japanese War that led inevitably to the full annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910. The Korean historian George Paik describes the general situation in the following way.

The feeling of frustration and despair over the political situation hung like a cloud over the entire country. The Korean army was disbanded, whereupon many of these soldiers took to the mountains, joining in . . . a guerrilla movement which was gradually put down by the Japanese, though outbreaks continued till 1910.¹⁹

The Great Revival in 1907, was a movement which swept the country and affected the entire Christian movement as a whole. The origin of the revival may be traced to a meeting, in 1903, where a group of Methodist missionaries met together for a week

¹⁹ Ibid., 155.

of prayer and Bible study in Wonsan, under the leadership of a visiting missionary, who was from the Southern Methodist Mission in China, Miss M. C. White. One of these Wonsan group members was Dr. R. A. Hardie, who had come to Korea as a medical missionary from the Canadian College's Mission. For four years from 1903 until the Great Revival which was held in 1907 at Pyongyang Changdaehyun Presbyterian Church, several missionaries, R. A. Hardie, M. C. White, William N. Blair of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, and Graham Lee, led Bible study and prayer meetings in each city regularly.²⁰ There were several reasons why the missionaries held the meetings. According to Timothy Lee, "the missionaries' motive for holding revivals was a conflation of two desires: the genuinely religious desire to see Korean churchgoers undergo born-again experiences and the desire to prevent political agitation from developing in the church."²¹ Most of the missionaries from the United States were accustomed to revivals, because they had been raised and trained in the tradition of American Revivalism.

Although the Great Revival of 1907 was initially started under the leadership of missionaries, the Korean preacher Sun-joo Kil decisively played the leading role in that revival. William N. Blair described one night of the revival,

That night it was very different. Each felt as he entered the church that the room was full of God's presence. Not only missionaries, but Koreans testified to the same thing . . . After a short sermon, Dr. Lee [Graham Lee] took charge of the meeting and called for prayers. So many began praying

²⁰ Ibid., 154-72.

²¹ Timothy Lee, 41.

. . . . the whole audience began to pray out loud, all together It sounded to me like the falling of many waters, an ocean of prayer beating against God's throne Just as on the Day of Pentecost they were all together in one place, of one accord praying, and suddenly there came from heaven the sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. God is not always is the whirlwind, neither does He always speak in a still small voice. He came to us in Pyongyang that night with the sound of weeping. As the prayer continued a spirit of heaviness and sorrow came down upon the audience.²²

The great revival of 1907 spread to the whole country. The war and the uneasy political situation of Korea had caused multitudes of Koreans to join the church.

Most of those who joined the church did so in the hope of finding a haven, but some did so in the hope of using the church to further their nationalistic agenda A politicized church, however, was anathema to the missionaries The missionaries loathed the prospect of the church's resources being exploited by Korean nationalists.²³

However, there was a decisive encounter between revivalism of the early Korean church and Korean nationalism at the March First Independence Movement of 1919. On that day, thousands of Koreans gathered at Pagoda Park in Seoul. They came from all over the country to participate in King Kojong's funeral which was to be held on March 3rd. At 2 p.m., a young man read the Korean Declaration of Independence. At that time, the spirit of independence swept over the crowd who began sounding a cheer "Taehan Dongnip manseh!" (Long live Korean Independence). Shouting the same slogan and waving Korean flags, Koreans marched

²²William N. Blair, Gold in Korea (Topeka, Kan.: H. M. Ives & Sons, 1947), 62.

²³Timothy Lee, 40.

through the whole country. Japanese police immediately began shooting the Korean people and 7,509 Koreans were killed, 15,961 were injured, 46,948 were arrested, and 47 churches were destroyed by fire.²⁴

Thirty three Korean leaders signed the Declaration, and thirteen of them were Christian representatives. One of them was Sun-joo Kil who was imprisoned for a year because of his participation in signing the Declaration. Timothy Lee describes this movement in relation to the missionaries. "An amazing aspect of the March First Movement -- given the conspicuous role Korean Protestants played in it -- was that in the course of its planning and initial implementation, the missionaries were virtually kept in dark."²⁵ He also says that "during the March First Independence Movement, the missionaries' stance with respect to Korean nationalism was much more neutral than before."²⁶ On the other hand, through the Independence movement, the Korean Church and its leaders showed a patriotic image to Korean people and lots of Korean youth came back to the church. Korean young people, however, began to resist the foreign missionaries and the United States because they were indifferent to the independence of Korea.²⁷

²⁴ Myung-kwan Shim, "Hankook Kyohoe Palsimnyunsa Bipan" [A comment on eighty years of the Korean Church], "Kidokkyo Sasang [Christian Thought], 10, no. 7 (July 1966): 73.

²⁵ Timothy Lee, 82.

²⁶ Ibid., 83.

²⁷ Shim, 73-74.

What kinds of sermons were preached during this period? To understand the form and the content of sermons in this period, the first Korean sermon collection - BaekMok Kangyon (Sermons of One Hundred Preachers) and Chongkyokye Chumyungsa Kangyonjip (A Collection of Famous Preachers) which were published in 1920 and in 1921 were consulted. These sermon collections were published thirty five years after Christianity was introduced to Korea. The sermons written in these books were mainly the messages spoken between 1900 and 1920. One thing that we need to keep in mind is that the writers could not express what they really wanted and felt because the Japanese government examined all published materials.

Yo-sup Um states the patterns of sermons in this period in his article "The Forms of Korean Sermons According to the Different Periods." He points out three types of sermons by Korean preachers during the early Korean Church.²⁸ The first type of preaching is the type that tries to explain Confucian ethics through the Christian method. It was intended to teach Christianity to Korean people who were taught Confucianism from their childhood. For example, they emphasized "obeying your parents" while denouncing ancestor worship. Second, there were lots of sermons to inspire Korean independence and promote modernization of the country. They identified the liberation of the Israelites from Egypt in the Book of Exodus with the

²⁸ Yo-sup Um, "Hankook Kyohyoe Sulkyoeui Sidaechok Hyungtaeron (1)" [The types of sermons of Korean Church according to the different periods], Kidokkyo Sasang [Christian Thought] 16, no. 4 (April 1972): 125-26.

liberation of Korea. Third, the content of the sermon was very evangelical and the gospel message was based on literalism and fundamentalism. The style and content are predictable since in the early Korean Church, the preachers had to explain what Christianity was. As observed above, the sermons preached in this period were not very much different from those of the missionaries. Although Korean preachers preached sermons that touched the hearts of Korean Christians, the content and style of preaching was similar to those of the missionaries. Korean preachers learned topical and textual sermon styles from the missionaries and theological perspectives from them as well. Just like the missionaries who tried to avoid the socio-political issues of the day, Korean preachers also avoided being involved in the socio-political issues believing that personal salvation and continual revival meetings would save the country from the despair that the Korean people felt after the failure of several independence movements. In this period, Sun-joo Kil, Ik-doo Kim, and Myung-zik Lee were representative preachers in the Korean Church. Although Korean preachers were active in this period, the Korean Church was still under the influence of the missionaries.

Preaching and the Colonial Period of National Ordeal under
Japanese Rule and the Liberation of Korea (1919-1945)

After the March First Independence Movement failed to bring national independence, Korean people experienced a period of disillusionment, frustration, and despondency. Korean people suffered not only from being poverty-stricken, but also from a vicious oppression under the rule of Japanese imperialism which tried to obliterate Korean nationality. The thirty six-year long period of the rule of Japanese imperialism was truly a dark period in Korea. A poet, Sang-sun O, described the prevailing mood of the post-March First Independence Movement era in the journal Pyehur(Ruins):

Our land of Korea is in ruins. These are times of sorrow and agony. Saying this will wrench the heart of our youth. But I must, for it is a fact that I can neither deny nor even doubt. In ruins lie all our defects and shortages, inside and outside, physical as well as mental: emptiness, grievances, discontent and resentment, sighs and worries, pain and tears -- all these evils will lead to extinction and death. As we stand before the ruins, darkness and death open their fearsome, cavernous mouths, threatening to gobble us up. Again, we are struck by the feeling that the old ruins spell extinction and death.²⁹

A Korean Church historian, Timothy S. Lee, describes the situation of that period concisely.

In fact, if anything--perhaps except for Mokoto Saito's governor-generalship from 1920 to 1925--the remainder of the Japanese rule in Korea was, if anything, harsher. The introduction of a new land tenure system, the failure to comply with which caused hundreds of thousands of Korean farmers to lose their livelihoods, compelling them to drift in search of jobs; large scale exportation of Korean rice to Japan, causing serious rice shortages in Korea itself; the domination and exploitation of Korean commerce and industry

²⁹Sang-sun O, "Sidaegowa Kui Huisang" (The agony of the times and its victims), Pyehur [Ruins] 1, no. 1 (July 1920): 21-22.

by Japanese entrepreneurs; the prohibition against using Korean in schools and official transactions; forcing all Koreans to pay obeisance to the Shinto shrine; shutting down all Korean newspapers except that of the governor-general's; conscripting Korean men to work as laborers and soldiers; dragooning young Korean women into Comfort Corps; compelling Koreans to abandon their ancestral names and adopt Japanese ones--from 1920 to 1945, the Japanese rule in Korea hardly afforded light of joy to Koreans.³⁰

Among the oppressions of Japan was the coercion of all Koreans to pay obeisance to the Shinto shrine and a full-scale persecution of the Korean Church. From 1918, Japan began to bring Shintoism to Korea, and in 1925, they built a Shinto shrine on Namsan mountain. From that time on, Shinto shrines were built all over Korea. Especially from 1936 to 1945, the colonial government's order to worship at the Shinto shrines was coercive. In this period, Japan had a plot to invade China. By forcing the Korean people to worship at Shinto shrines, the militant nation wished for Korean people to have loyalty and identification with the Japanese. They started in the schools, and they succeeded. They forced Korean Christians to pay obeisance at Shinto shrines.³¹ Korean Christians who believed in One God could never give up their faith and follow the order. The conflict between the colonial government and the Korean Church was inevitable. Many Korean Church leaders and Christians vigorously opposed Shinto worship. So lots of Christians were put in jail, and among about seventy pastors who were jailed, around fifty pastors (including Ki-chul Choo) suffered martyrdom. Many theological

³⁰ Timothy Lee, 94.

³¹ Young-hun Lee, Hankook Kidok Kyohyesa [A history of the Korean Church] (Seoul: Concordia, 1978), 199.

seminaries and schools were compulsorily closed by the Japanese government.³² But unfortunately, on March 25, 1936, the Vatican declared that the Shinto ceremony was a civic, not religious, act.³³ Other Protestant denominations went along with the governor-general's policy.

During the period of the Japanese rule of 1905-1945, Protestantism in Korea had a remarkable growth. There were several factors why the Korean Church had a rapid growth. First of all, in this period "Japan did not allow Koreans to have any organizations or activities except for religious purposes. Organized religions therefore came to function as a social and political community for the colonized Koreans. By consoling the frustrated Koreans with religious language and by functioning as the largest organized base for the independence movement, the Protestant church rapidly came to be the largest Korean community in the colonized period."³⁴ Second, the Church became significant places for colonized Koreans to come together for the purpose of consoling each other, sharing their sorrow and agony. After the 1905 protectorate and the 1910 annexation, Korean people were deeply heavyhearted and frustrated. In this situation, Protestant

³² In 1938, the Presbyterian Theological Seminary was forcibly closed; in 1940, the Methodist Theological Seminary was closed; in 1941 the American-Japanese War occurred; and in 1943 all the missionaries were banished from Korea. In 1942, the Evangelical Holiness Church, Baptist Church, and the Seventh-day Adventist Church were forcibly dispersed by the Japanese government. Dong-shik Ryu, Hankook Shinhakeui Kwangmak [The lode of Korean theology] (Seoul: Chonmangsa, 1983), 145.

³³ Wi-jo Kang, Religion and Politics in Korea under Japanese Rule, Studies in Asian Thought and Religion, vol. 5. (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellon Press, 1987), 37.

³⁴ Chung-shin Park, 32.

churches held frequent revivals providing a time and place where Korean Christians could stay together at least several times a week. The Church not only consoled frustrated and grief-stricken people, but also gave them new hope for liberation from Japanese oppression. By attending a church, they could have consolation and new hope. Thirdly, in the situation where all organizations and activities were prohibited by the Japanese government, the Church was the best meeting place and political forum for nationalist activities. We can easily guess that a Korean nationalist leadership might be formed in this religious community.

Despite the disturbed events that took place in Korea between 1919 and 1945, revivalism continued without cessation. Throughout the whole country, revival meetings were regularly held and through revivals, personal salvation and conversion experience were emphasized again and again.

According to Dong-shik Ryu, it was in the 1930s that the Korean Church began to develop its own theology.³⁵ Even before the 1930s there was a Korean theology that had been formed from the early Korean Christianity, although it was under the influence of missionaries. However, in the 1930s, theological books were published by Korean theologians for the first time. And from this period, theological debates between fundamental and liberal theologians gradually started. Korean Methodist theologians and preachers usually were flexible in accepting new

³⁵ Dong-shik Ryu, The Lode of Korean Theology, 134-40.

theologies, not being fixed with traditions and doctrines. On the other side, Presbyterian theologians and preachers in Korea usually made desperate efforts to preserve the tradition and their traditional fundamental theology that was carried on from the early missionaries. Hyung-yong Park was the central figure who established Korean fundamental theology. Park (1897-1978) was trained at Princeton Theological Seminary in the 1920s and was the representative of fundamental theology in the Korean Church. He emphasized both the total literal inspiration and the inerrancy of the Bible. Once he said, "pastors who deny Moses' authorship on the Book of Genesis blaspheme the holy Bible which is correct and inerrant, so it is right for the Church not to accept such persons as pastors." But Jae-joon Kim who studied in the United States at the same period with Hyung-yong Park had a different theology than Park. Kim rejected all fundamental perspectives of theology such as literal inspiration. In understanding the Bible, he emphasized the personal and communicational relationship between God and the biblical authors. These two groups could not avoid conflict in the Korean Church.

Sung-kuh Chung points out the secularization of the Church in this period.³⁶ "As church leaders became established socio-economically, they sought security rather than risky political action; they professed the pure gospel rather than onerous social

³⁶ Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 213.

commitment."³⁷ By emphasizing only conversion experience and personal salvation, the church tended to avoid controversial issues of the era. Secular newspapers used to criticize the religious community and church leaders. They regarded the church as a religion of and for the rich and powerful.³⁸ The moderate Dong-A Ilbo [Dong-A daily newspaper] criticized the religious community and then church leaders for concentrating their attention only on ceremonial activities. It also accused the Protestant church of clearly becoming a community of, for, and by the established people.³⁹ Here we see the weakness of the fundamentalists and fundamentalism in the Korean Church that only emphasized personal salvation, without concern for socio-political matters.

Korean War, the Seung-man Rhee Regime, and Korean
Preaching (1945-1961)

On August 15, 1945, Korea was liberated from Japan at the end of World War II. The liberation of the Korean nation meant the liberation of Korean Christianity.⁴⁰ Just after liberation, Yonhee [now Yonsei] University, Ehwa Women's University, and other theological seminaries reopened. All Korean people, including Christians, were hopeful about rehabilitating the

³⁷ Chung-shin Park, 319.

³⁸ Won-byuk Kim, "Hyundai Sasangkwa Kidokkyo" [Modern thoughts and Christianity] Chungnyeom [Integrity] 3, no. 7 (July-August 1932): 23.

³⁹ Dong-A Ilbo [Dong-A daily newspaper] (Seoul), "Sasul" [editorial], 7 Jan. 1922; and "Sasul," 11 July 1929.

⁴⁰ Dong-shik Ryu, The Lode of Korean Theology, 145.

nation and were buoyant with expectations. Hopes were high for an ideal Korea. However, both Korea and the Korean Church soon suffered another confusion and pain because of the division of the nation. The Korean War and the dictator Seung-man Rhee's regime were big tragedies in this period.

Five years after Korea's liberation from the Japanese rule, the Korean peninsula became the site of the terrible destruction that is known as the Korean War. The hopes and dreams of the Korean people for renewal and reconstruction of the Korean nation were totally ruined again, and Korea was drawn into the vortex of war. In 1945, troops of the United States and the Soviet Union arrived in Korea as "liberators" for the purpose of disarming and repatriating Japanese troops. A line was drawn at the thirty-eighth parallel to demarcate the zones of occupation of the two foreign forces. This temporary division was the beginning of hostile relations between the South and the North. The two rivals, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., were each anxious to develop domestic political forces favoring their ideology and interests. In this period, the communists in the North who were supported by the Soviet Union persecuted Christians, and lots of Northern Christians fled to the South.

Finally on June 25, 1950, North Koreans made a surprise attack on the South through the thirty-eighth parallel and took Seoul in three days. The fate of South Korea hung by a thread until U.S. General Douglas MacArthur's amphibious landing in Inchon succeeded on September 13, 1950. During the war, about 2.8 million Koreans from both sides were killed, wounded, or reported

missing; and millions of Koreans were separated from their families.⁴¹ Eventually on June 27, 1953, a truce was signed. However, as a result of the truce, the thirty eighth parallel was drawn as the temporary partition between the North and the South. For more than forty years it still stands ominously.

In this period, another tragedy in Korean history is decisively the dictator Seung-man Rhee's regime that extended from 1948 to 1960. Seung-man Rhee(1875-1965), who was inaugurated as the first president of the Republic of Korea on August 15, 1948, was not only a Christian and lay elder in the Korean Church, but he also took his oath of office with his hand on the Bible in his inauguration ceremony.⁴² Most of his staff were also Christian. The relationship between the Protestant community and this authoritarian regime of Seung-man Rhee was amicable, and the Protestant Church consistently and unconditionally supported the regime until the April 19th Student Revolt brought down Rhee's government in 1960. According to Chong-sun Park, one of the main reasons why the Korean Protestant Church supported Rhee's government was because of his effort to establish anti-Communist ideology.⁴³ Ironically enough, however, Rhee's regime deteriorated and the Korean society was becoming more chaotic as years went by.

⁴¹ Peter Lowe, The Origins of the Korean War (London: Longman, 1986), 218.

⁴² Kidok Shinmoon [Christian Newspaper] (Seoul), 15 Aug. 1948.

⁴³ Chung-shin Park, 384.

Sung-kuh Chung points out the general phenomena of the Korean church during that period.⁴⁴ First, there was conflict and discord between those who, under Japanese rule, paid obeisance to Shinto worship, and other Christians who rejected the Shinto worship and were put in jail. Because of this matter, churches were hostile to one another and were at a crisis of being disunited. Second, there was a severe debate and conflict between conservative theology and liberal theology. Such a theological debate between these two groups, which began in the 1930s, continues even today. Thirdly, due to the uncertainties of the socio-political situation and hardships of life, revival meetings continued in this period, even during the Korean War. Lastly, with the background of revival meetings and with social uncertainty, new religious sects arose.

It is important to say that revival movements are still the foundation of the Korean Church. Even during the Korean War and the years following, revival meetings were held all over the country. For example, even during the Korean War in December 1952, Billy Graham came to Korea and held his first Korean revival in Pusan. After the War, in Taegu, another Baptist revivalist Bob Pierce came from America and held revivals. Throughout the nation, lots of revival meetings were held again and again. However, the problem associated with revival meetings in this period are first of all, the fact that they were designed to appeal to people's emotion while ignoring the theological side

⁴⁴ Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 375.

of the faith, and also that many of the Korean preachers who led those revivals had no theological background because of the lack of formal education from seminaries. Therefore, such revivals could not produce sound growth in the churches.⁴⁵ Moreover, in this period, new pseudo-religions of Christianity had appeared and misled lots of Korean Christians. The most representative pseudo-religions were Tongilkyo Woondong (Reunification Movement) of Sun-myung Moon(1954), Yongmoonsan Kidowon Woondong (Mountain Yongmoon Prayer Movement) of Woon-mong Na(1954), and Chondokwan (Missionhouse) movement of Tae-sun Park.⁴⁶ In this period the Korean church and its preaching were in a severe chaotic condition.

To summarize the characteristics of preaching during this period, the similar characteristics of revivalism and stress on personal salvation emerge again and again. Topical and textual preaching were definitely the most widely used style of preaching during this period as well as previous periods. However, because of the remarkable growth in membership and also because of the diversity of religious groups that appeared during this period, the content and the style cannot be generalized.

⁴⁵ Dong-shik Ryu, The Lode of Korean Theology, 147.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 147.

Preaching during the Rehabilitation of Korea under
Dictator Chung-hee Park and Two Other Dictators until
the Seoul Summer Olympic Games (1961-1988)

What differentiates this period from the previous ones is that "Park Chung-hee's coup was a clear milestone that distinguished the 1950s and 1960s."⁴⁷ Certainly the 1960s began in South Korea with the April 19th Student Revolt that resulted in the collapse of Rhee's government. At this time, the army general Chung-hee Park effected a coup and held real power for eighteen years until he was killed at gun point on October 26, 1979. After the Student Revolution of 1960, South Korea had a rare opportunity to adopt democracy, but such a new hope was frustrated by the military coup d'état on May 16, 1961. The military government which came into power had imposed a one-man rule over Korea in the name of national economic development and under the pretext of the tension from North Korea on the Korean peninsula.

Dong-shik Ryu points out the socio-political situation of South Korea in the 1960s.⁴⁸ First, it was the era that began and ended with the demonstration of college students. With the Student Revolution, Rhee's dictatorial government collapsed. Also after the beginning of the military coup, the demonstration of students continued seemingly without end. In spite of strong opposition against any relationship with Japan, the military government entered into a diplomatic relationship with Japan.

⁴⁷ Timothy Lee, 184.

⁴⁸ Dong-shik Ryu, The Lode of Korean Theology, 215-21.

Park amended the constitution several times, and finally he designed the *Yushin Constitution* for a prolonged one-man rule. During the Yushin period(1972-1979), the whole country plunged into confusion, Korea saw economic development, and the religious population increased dramatically in the midst of social uneasiness.

Certainly the 1970s were characterized by a period of intensive economic development. The military government unfolded several new economic development plans in order to dazzle the Korean people. It was during this period that "the Five Year Economic Development" and "Saemaeul Movement" (The New Village Movement) began. Many Koreans today evaluate such economic policies as Park's merits despite all his wrongdoing while in office, and in fact they succeeded in some measure. Many scholars and intellectuals, however, cite "the negative consequences" of the dictatorial *Yushin* regime: "e.g., exploitation of laborers and human rights violations."⁴⁹ The economic growth of this period was mainly built on political, social, and human sacrifices. Due to the rapid economic development in the period, industrialization and urbanization made rapid progress. On the other hand, the gulf between rich and poor was becoming greater and all kinds of socio-political irregularities occurred.

The growth of the religious population was one of the remarkable phenomena of this period. Especially the growth of Buddhists was uncommon. They grew from about one million in 1964

⁴⁹ Timothy Lee, 186.

to five million Buddhists in 1969. One of the main reasons was very similar to the situation under Rhee's regime. Chung-hee Park and his staff were mainly Buddhists whereas Seung-man Rhee and his staff were mainly Christians.⁵⁰ Park supported Buddhism and under the patronage of Park's government, Korean Buddhism prospered.

Korean Christianity which had supported Rhee's regime unconditionally could not help but be daunted under the reign of the new government. Because of such adverse conditions, however, Korean churches unfolded a nationwide evangelization movement. By doing so, Korean Christianity could overcome such harsh conditions and grew continually. In the 1960s, Christianity's membership grew one hundred thousand persons in a year. Between 1970 and 1978, an average of two hundred thousand Christians joined the church every year. After 1978, membership showed an explosive increase with about one million people entering churches.⁵¹ As time passed, some Christian leaders dared to raise their voices against the military dictatorial government and consequently were severely oppressed. But the majority of Christians took the easy way out by supporting the regime. The political attitude of the absolute majority of church members was identical to that of their fellow Christians during the Seung-man Rhee period. The Church always stressed the apostle Paul's

⁵⁰ Dong-shik Ryu, The Lode of Korean Theology, 217.

⁵¹ Won-kyu Lee, Kankook Kyohoe Sungjangeui Sahoechuk Kochal [A Study of the growth of Korean Church in the social perspective] (Seoul: Pastoral Monthly Press, 1983), 44.

teaching that all the political powers are ordained by God and that one should obey civil authorities. Many religious leaders were invited to the Prayer Breakfasts⁵² by the dictator Park and they not only prayed for a long life for the military government, but also promised to support the government and its policies.

In the history of Korean Christianity, this period is characterized as the heyday of mass revival rallies. Well-known evangelists such as Billy Graham and Bill Bright were usually invited as main speakers. Especially in the 1970s and 1980s, lots of large and small revivals were held everywhere throughout the country. The representative mass revival rallies are the Korea '73 Billy Graham Crusade, Explo '74, '77 nyun Minjok Bokeumhwa Daesunghoe, ('77 Holy Assembly for the Evangelization of the Nation), '80 World Evangelization Crusade, and '88 Bokeumhwa Daesunghoe ('88 World Evangelization Crusade). This series of mass revival rallies was very successful.

The '73 Billy Graham Crusade (May 30-June 3) was held at the huge Yoido Plaza with the theme of "Find a New Life in Jesus Christ." Approximately 1.2 million people attended the revival, and about 37,000 people made decisions to believe for the first time.⁵³ Explo '74 (August 13-18) was held at Yoido Plaza with the theme of "Jesus Revolution, the Holy Spirit's Third Explosion."

⁵² In 1966, the Prayer Breakfast meeting was begun by some National Assemblymen of the government party and in 1968 Park Chung-hee himself put in an appearance. The aim of this Prayer Breakfast was to gather leaders from government, business, and political circles to pray to God for national unity and unification of Korea. The Prayer Breakfast meetings, however, were held mainly to support the government and its policies.

⁵³ Christian Press, 6 June 1970 and 22 Aug. 1970.

The organizers believed that the explosion of the Holy Spirit was the only hope for the world. Explo '74 was very successful. The daily attendance for training sessions and evening services averaged 1,090,000. The total attendance for the entire event was 6,550,000.⁵⁴ The '77 Holy Assembly for the Evangelization of the Nation (August 15-18) took place at Yoido Plaza as a Korean-sponsored and Korean-led affair. In this rally, 1,150,000 people attended and 20,510 made decisions to be Christians. The other two mass revival rallies were absolutely successful.

All the key messages of the mass revival rallies were rebirth and personal salvation, emphasizing repenting of sins, and being born again to be saved. Timothy Lee, who analyzed these revivals in relation with the other earlier revivals, says that "the importance of rebirth was seared into the core of Korean Protestantism at the great revival of 1907. The fact [is] that the Korean ministers of 1988 ['88 World Evangelization Crusade] preached about rebirth in much the same vein as the missionaries of 1907 had underscored the sturdiness and staying power of Revivalism as a vehicle of salvation."⁵⁵

Some liberals like Kim Chong-yol criticized mass revival rallies.

Even more important is the question of evangelization What does it mean to evangelize a nation? Do we succeed in evangelization if we actually succeed in turning 'Thirty Million to Christ' or 'Fifty Million to Christ'? Regardless of what goes on in the politics, how the society operates, what the economic situations are, whether or not there is corruption, whether organized forces of evil are

⁵⁴ Christian Press, 24 Aug. 1974.

⁵⁵ Timothy Lee, 227.

tyrannically trampling on human rights regardless of what happens to our neighbors, society, and nation if we only believe in Jesus--so that our souls are saved--has evangelization been realized?⁵⁶

Chung-shin Park, a Korean theologian, also criticized revivals saying that "conservative church leaders carried out these rallies with a tremendous amount of money and government cooperation during Park's regime"⁵⁷ In this period, mega-churches in Korea began to appear; Yoido Full Gospel Church, Somang (Hope) Presbyterian Church, and Kwangnim Methodist Church are a few good examples. All the churches competed with one another and devoted all their energies to increase the attendance numbers at each church. Many theologians point out that all the churches were so intent on rapid church growth that non-biblical messages were usually preached. To achieve rapid church growth, many pastors used to be indiscreet in employing means.

What are the characteristics of preaching during this period? Is this period any different from the previous periods? In fact, it was not much different although the growth of membership was phenomenal and preachers were more educated. Mass revival rallies flowered during this period. The major topic of these revival rallies was personal salvation. The majority of the preachers still were not interested in addressing socio-political issues, creating disturbance in the status quo, even under the dictatorial Park regime.

⁵⁶ Chong-yol Kim, "Evangelization of the Nation and Mass Gatherings," 74. Timothy Lee's translation, 198.

⁵⁷ Chung-shin Park, 400.

The Period of Growth and Decline (1988-Present)

It would be impetuous and unfair to judge the recent ten years of Korean Christianity because it is an on-going process of history and social, economical, and political circumstances. However, what we experience in the Korean society today is quite different from what we have experienced before. The spread of Protestantism in Korea is exceptional. Korean Christianity has established a miraculous growth in just one hundred and ten years that might be unparalleled in world history. But since the beginning of the 1990s, the rate of Church growth has become rather stagnant. In fact, it shows a downward tendency, with negative growth. What is especially noteworthy in the 1990s is that mass revival rallies have disappeared, even though each church still insists on holding regular revival meetings. The Korean church is severely worried about the phenomena that young people are leaving churches. Youngsters do not like to stay in the Church any more.

Korean Christians have begun to examine themselves, though it is still a partial task that needs to be done continually. Many theologians point out several problems that contribute to the Church growth decline. General agreements on them are a protest against the authoritarianism and ecclesiastical authority of the Korean Church, a protest against the Church which kept silent consistently toward dictatorial governments, boring sermons for young people, a sense of financial burden felt by congregations as preachers compete to build the largest church structures, people wanting to make use of spare moments with

their families on weekends, etc. Now it is time for Korean Christianity to face up to the reality of both the Korean Church and society. Korean Christianity has to listen carefully to the needs and requests of the Korean society.

One of the notable developments in this period in preaching is the introduction of expository preaching by John McArthur and other conservative American preachers. Although the style of preaching may have changed, the content and the theology has not. The majority of the preachers still have a literalistic and fundamentalistic view of the Bible, preaching the same message of personal salvation in different packaging called expository preaching. Revival meetings are slowly disappearing. However, because revivals are one of the sacred traditions of the Korean church, it can be safely predicted that they will continue over into the next century.

Conclusion

The Korean Church, with its background on fundamentalism and revival meetings, has experienced an enormous growth in terms of church membership over the last one hundred and ten years. The Korean Church has practiced mainly topical and textual sermons over the years, with agendas that are far from being social-action oriented. The content of sermons over the years has been mainly on personal salvation with a literalistic interpretation of the Gospel story. The form or the style of sermons has varied from topical and textual sermons of the early days to a variety of styles, yet still mainly topical, textual, and

expository sermons exist. These sermon styles and their content were reinforced by the revival meeting setting where a large number of Christians attended. This revival meeting phenomenon with the Korean Church's zeal for evangelism produced new Christians who are only familiar with a fundamentalistic interpretation of the Bible, thus perpetuating the cycle.

Over the last one hundred and ten years, there have been so many socio-political changes in Korea. However, the content, the style, and the medium in which sermons are delivered have not changed much. It is about time that Korean preaching should advance onto the next level. It is demanded by the younger generation who are brought up in a different culture of mass media. Korean Christianity has to listen carefully to the needs and requests of the Korean society.

CHAPTER 4

Great Korean Preachers and Revivalists and
Their Influence in the Korean Church

As we have observed in dealing with the history of the Korean Church, the Korean Church stands on the tradition of the revival movement. Throughout the history of Korean Christianity, there have been lots of great preachers and revivalists. But among them, four stand out as being extraordinary: Kil Sun-joo (1869-1935), Kim Ik-doo(1874-1950), Lee Sung-bong(1900-1965), and Yi Yong-do(1901-1933). In their life time, these four were the most famous and influential preachers in Korea. Many Korean Church historians and homiletics scholars agree that these four were the first leading Korean revivalists, whose combined achievements laid the groundwork for the rise of an indigenous revivalist tradition in Korea.

Among these revivalists, Kil and Kim -- both Presbyterian ministers -- were first generation Korean Protestants. Compared to them, Lee Sung-bong, a minister of the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church, was a second generation Christian who carried on the revivalists' line after Kim Ik-doo. Lastly Yi, a Methodist, was a generation younger, and the period of his activity was relatively short from 1928 to 1933. Though youngest of them, Yi died earliest because of illness. He died in 1933 at the age of

thirty three. The above mentioned four preachers left the legacy that is incomparable in Korean Church history. These four preachers influenced the form of the service that crossed denominational boundaries. They also formed what became the norms of Christian living - tithing, keeping of the Lord's day, early morning prayer meeting, Wednesday night service, Friday night prayer meeting, Tongsung Kido, etc. - that were established and accepted among Korean Christians. Not only that, but their revival meeting preaching style that stressed personal salvation became the norm for preaching in the Korean Church. These influences were handed down to the generations following.

These four are not only major factors in formatting Korean Christian faith and theology but they are also the basis of establishing a norm for a common Korean preaching style and structure. Because of their prominent position in their contribution to Korean preaching, it is mandatory to observe these four preachers' theology and the style of their preaching.

Kil Sun-joo: The Millenarian and Fundamentalist

Kil Sun-joo(March 15, 1869-Nov. 26, 1935) was not only the first Korean ordained pastor, but also the first Korean revivalist. In 1897, at the age of 29, Kil converted to Christianity and was baptized. In 1901, he was ordained as an elder and the next year he became an evangelist. During that year he traveled over North and South Pyongan and Whanghai Provinces preaching the Gospel of Christ. In 1903, he entered the recently

established theological seminary in Pyongyang. Allen D. Clark, describing Kil's ministry career, states that

In 1907, he was one of the first seven men graduated from this first seminary and, in September of that year, was ordained as one of the first ministers of the newly constituted Presbytery. The following month, he was installed as pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church of Pyongyang, the famous Changdaehyon Church.¹

For twenty years he was the pastor at this church. The most important aspect about him is that the great Revival of 1907 started in this church and Rev. Kil's preaching and teaching had much to do with that movement.

Kil was one of the 33 signers of the Korean Declaration of Independence in 1919, resulting in three years of prison time which he and the other Christians used as an opportunity to preach the Gospel to the inmates and where many converts were made.² In his later career, he resigned his pastorate in 1927 and traveled all over Korea and into Manchuria holding revival meetings, spending 30 weeks of each year in this work. During his 35 years as a Christian worker, he preached some 13,600 times, preaching at least three times during his revival meetings, besides teaching the Bible for two hours.³

In his preaching and revivals, the central focus was on the Parousia and millennium. For him, "the second advent of Christ is the target of our faith and province of our hope."⁴ He

¹ Allen D. Clark, A History of the Church in Korea (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1971), 425.

² Ibid., 427.

³ Ibid., 427.

⁴ Sun-joo Kil, Kil Sun-joo Moksa Yugojonjip [Rev. Kil Son-joo's posthumous works], ed. Kil Jin-Kyung (Seoul: Chongno Sojok, 1975), 24.

regarded the Book of Revelation with great importance and read it a number of times. Millenarianism was the center of his thought. In emphasizing millenarianism, pre-millenarianism was the only one that Rev. Kil was concerned about, and he criticized post-millenarianism and non-millenarianism. After being released from prison, the topic of 90 per cent of his 14 year long traveling revivals was on the suffering of Jesus. For him, the suffering of Christ was a model for Christians preparing for the millennium since all Christians participated in the suffering of Christ and had to overcome this worldly suffering in order to be able to participate in the Parousia. He preached this at the early morning prayer meetings, and he taught Parousia and millennium at the morning Bible study.⁵

Kil Sun-joo was not only a man of prayer, but a great student of the Word of God. It is said that he read the Old Testament through thirty times and the first half of it, from Genesis to Esther, some 500 times, the New Testament more than 100 times. He memorized the Book of Revelation, while he was imprisoned for taking a part in the 1919 Independence movement activities and he later taught it hundreds of times without a note in front of him.⁶ According to Byung-il Chang, Rev. Kil read the Book of Revelation some 10,200 times throughout his life, and the First Letter of John some 500 times. It was his

⁵ Jin-kyung Kil, Youngkye Kil Sun-joo [The spiritual streamlet: Kil Sun-joo] (Seoul: Chongno Sojok, 1980), 329.

⁶ Clark, 426.

daily routine to memorized the Book of Revelation verse by verse 20 minutes after finishing his prayer every morning.⁷

When Timothy Lee lists the merits of the revival meetings of 1907, he says:

Of all its devotional practices, Korean Revivalism is probably best known for its saebyok kido-hoe (literally, 'daybreak prayer gathering'). Like the unified vocal prayer (tongsung kido), daybreak devotionals also trace its origin to the great revival of 1907.⁸

More precisely speaking, the daybreak prayer devotional in the Korean Church originated with the Rev. Kil at Changdaehyon Church.⁹ In the fall, 1906, Changdaehyon Church where Rev. Kil was the pastor, passed a resolution establishing saebyok kido-hoe. From that time on, every day early in the morning the church bell rang, and the church members gathered together to confess their sins and to pray for the revival of the church. Both the daybreak prayer devotional and the noon prayer devotional originated with Rev. Kil. The rapid growth of Korean Protestantism is attributed mainly to the daybreak prayer devotional.¹⁰

The great Revival of 1907 may have its origin with saebyok kido-hoe that was started by Rev. Kil. Usually the great Revival

⁷ Byung-il Chang, "A Torchlight of the Revival Movement - The Life and Thought of the Rev. Youngkye Kil Sun-joo," Kidokkyo Sasang [Christian Thought] 10, no. 12 (Dec. 1966): 72-73.

⁸ Timothy Lee, 260.

⁹ Byung-il Chang, 71-72.

¹⁰ Byung-il Chang, 72.

of 1907 is called the "Pentecost of the Korean Church." Kil was the leading cause of the great Revival.

It is without a doubt that Kil's idea on the millennium and the inerrancy of the Bible played a very significant role in forming the basis of fundamentalist theology in the Korean Church.¹¹ In his preaching, the second advent of Christ was the premise of the eternal world, the victory of the Gospel, and the culmination of the Church.¹² He interpreted the Bible very literally and condemned all modernistic theology as being that of false prophets. In talking about the second advent of Christ, Kil told his congregation that "though it is not possible to date exactly the return of Christ, one could validly make an approximation of it by reading the signs of the time." Kil calculated and warned the people that the Parousia would occur sometime in 1974 according to his reading of the signs. However, he did not claim the date with certainty.¹³ With Kil's precedence, almost all forms and content of revivals in the Korean Church follow that of Rev. Kil. A good example that supports this is that many revivalists choose and teach the Book of Revelation during revival meetings. In preaching, fundamentalism prevailed from the beginning of Korean Christianity. Certainly in the Korean Church, Rev. Kil's

¹¹ Dong-shik Ryu, Hankook Shinhakeui Kwangmak [The lode of Korean theology] (Seoul: Chonmangsa, 1983), 59.

¹² Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 152.

¹³ Timothy Lee, 144-45, quoting from Sun-joo Kil, Posthumous Collection, 70.

influence is great and his preaching has become the basis and milestone of faith in the Korean Church.¹⁴

Kim Ik-doo: The Faith-Healer

Ik-doo Kim (Jan. 3, 1874-Oct. 14, 1950) is generally called the D. L. Moody of Korea.¹⁵ He was also the outstanding revivalist of a generation that produced an amazing number of capable revival leaders. Through his preaching, Choo Ki-Chul, a famous Korean martyr in the Colonial period, was very much blessed and Jae-sun Chun and Sung-bong Lee became successors of his revival movement.¹⁶ "It was reported that he had, during his long years of service, carried on 776 revival campaigns in as many different places, had preached some 28,000 times with some 2,880,000 decisions for Christ. The Korean Church is grateful for the dedicated work of this faithful servant of the Lord."¹⁷ At the same time, it is reported that he established 150 new local churches.¹⁸

He was born in Whanghai Province, on Jan. 3, 1874, as the only son of a local scholar of the old school. At an early age,

¹⁴ Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 153.

¹⁵ Ik-doo Kim, Kim Ik-doo Moksa SulKyojip [The collection of Rev. Kim Ik-doo's sermons] (Seoul: SungKwang Moonhwasa, 1940), 119.

¹⁶ Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 157.

¹⁷ Clark, 442.

¹⁸ Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 157.

his father set him up to be trained in classical Chinese literature for Kwageo examination, which is equivalent to the traditional civil examination. However, his father died when he was thirteen years old. When he turned 16, he went to Secul to take the examination which was the gateway to all official advancement. He failed the examination. He even failed the examination as a merchant as well. He lost most of the money he started out with. When this happened, "he was troubled by the problem of suffering and tried Tonghak and Buddhism, respectively, seeking to find a solution. Nothing seemed to satisfy his heart."¹⁹ He gambled and drank, and became an infamous character.

Then, in January 1900, at the age of 27, Kim happened to hear Rev. Ahn-Ryon So (William L. Swallen) preach on the topic of Eternal Life, the very thing he was looking for. He immediately decided to become a Christian. After becoming a believer, he struggled with his original nature and old habits. One day in a state of drunken merriment, suddenly "he was overwhelmed by strong compunction and bolted out of the party. After walking over ten miles in tears and ashamed repentance, Kim arrived home and fell on the floor of his room. Whereupon -- in a half conscious state -- he experienced a ball of fire falling upon his chest. Later, Kim pointed to the experience of that night as the true turning point -- conversion -- of his life."²⁰

¹⁹ Clark, 435.

²⁰ Timothy Lee, 148-49.

In January 1901, Kim was baptized by W. L. Swallen, and in 1906, he entered Pyongyang Presbyterian Theological Seminary, and graduated in 1910, just three years after Kil Sun-joo graduated from that seminary. His career took on a high road since "the year he graduated was the year of the Million Movement ("A Million souls for Christ") and special invitations came from everywhere and he spent five or six months leading such meetings."²¹

The most distinctive feature in Kim's revivals was faith-healing. According to a Presbyterian missionary, Harry A. Rhodes, "one reason why the 'Kim Ik-doo Meetings' throughout the country attracted attention was because of his custom of praying for the sick and the demon-possessed. The report went out that he was performing miracles. For several years large numbers of the sick and demon-possessed were taken to his meetings."²²

According to Sung-Kuh Chung's research, it was December 1919, in the revival at the Hyunpoong Church when the miracle of healing really happened.²³ Two months prior to this meeting, "in October 1919, while leading a Bible conference for a week in Pyongan Nam Province, he got into a discussion with another pastor about Mark 16: 17-18 and he began to say to himself, 'If the power of the Lord who healed the sick is still with us today,

²¹ Clark, 439.

²² Harry A. Rhodes, History of the Korea Mission: Presbyterian Church, USA, 1884-1934 (Seoul: Choson[Korea] Mission Presbyterian Church, USA, 1934), 289-90.

²³ Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 155.

why shouldn't He give us this healing power as He promised? The reason is that I haven't asked in faith. My faith is too weak.' It was the beginning of a new era in his career in Christian service."²⁴ Kim's revivals and sermons were accompanied by healing miracles. His fame began to spread and hundreds of sick people came to his revival meetings. News papers in those days reported the miracles that happened during Kim's revivals from different angles. Kyungsung Kidok Shinbo (Kyungsung Christian newspaper) reported it as one of three world mysteries.²⁵ Dong-A-Ilbo (Dong-A daily news) captioned the headline of one of those stories as "the dumb are speaking, cripples are walking."²⁶ A Presbyterian missionary, Harry A. Rhodes, described the atmosphere of Kim's revival,

Mr. Kim is a homely man, and sometimes awkward in manner and speech ... And yet he conducted the most largely attended series of evangelistic meetings ever held in the capital. The meetings began in the auditorium of the Central (Seungdong) Presbyterian Church, but soon the pulpit was moved outside to the steps of the church. It was estimated that the crowd inside and out often numbered from six to seven thousand people, and there was no loud speaker except the evangelist's voice which soon became husky. Each morning six hundred and more attended the daybreak prayer meetings. A still larger number attended the prayer service and Bible study hour each day. At one evening meeting an offering of seventeen hundred and fifty yen was received. At that time a yen was equivalent to about fifty cents. The offering included two hundred rings, twenty silver watches, two gold watches, two hundred silver hairpins, suits of clothes, bridal ornaments, etc.²⁷

²⁴ Clark, 440.

²⁵ Kyungsung Kidok Shinbo [Kyungsung Christian newspaper], no. 259, 1920.

²⁶ Dong-A-Ilbo [Dong-A daily news], no. 58, 1920.

²⁷ Rhodes, 289.

A Presbyterian pastor, Taek-kwon Lim, with many other pastors, formed Ijok Cheungmyunghoe - the Association to Verify Miracles - and investigated and collected all the miracles that happened in Kim's revivals for three years, and published Ijok Cheungmyungso - the Record of Verified Miracles - in 1920.²⁸ This association was composed of one hundred sixty seven ministers and laymen, including a well-known doctor, from all over the country, and its goal was to investigate and authenticate Kim's healing by interviewing and examining those claimed to have been healed by Kim.²⁹

Ik-doo Kim, a miracle-healer and revivalist, was somewhat uncouth. As a result, he was mainly welcomed by the poor and the sick, and his message was more effective to such low classes. The main theme of his sermons were the cross and the blood of Christ Jesus, the resurrection and the kingdom of God. He always emphasized the repentance of sins. Similar to Kil Sun-joo, Kim's message was oriented toward the future-life. In those days under the oppression of Japanese imperialism, Korean people were rather hardened and at the same time frail. In this situation, Kim's future-life-intended sermons were effectively accepted. However such a message brought forth Christian dualistic thought and faith where it was covertly told the listeners that instead of fighting for social justice and liberation from the oppression of the colonial government, Christians should look only to the

²⁸ Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 156.

²⁹ Timothy Lee, 152.

other-worldly Kingdom of God because the world is inherently evil.³⁰ Given this, it would not be wrong to conclude that from Kim's revival movement, a focus on faith healing and Christian dualistic thought was established and has influenced the Korean Church.

Lee Sung-bong: The Christian Nihilist and Other-worldly Seeker

Sung-bong Lee (July 4, 1900-July 23, 1965) is also called the D. L. Moody of Korea. He carried on Korean revivalism following in the steps of Kim Ik-doo. He also was a great revivalist.³¹ At the age four, he graduated from Shinchon Kyungshin Elementary school where Kim Ik-doo had worked. Lee was influenced by Ik-doo Kim from his childhood and had a dream of becoming a great revivalist like Rev. Kim Ik-doo. Lee says in his autobiography, If not possible with a Word, then with death, saying, "at that time, I was so impressed by Rev. Kim Ik-doo and have always had a dream to be a revivalist like him."³²

When Lee was 6 years old, his family accepted the Gospel and became Christians. Through the strict education by his mother, Lee read the whole Bible at the age of six, and he was taught to pray. When he was seven, he used to pray in public at the church

³⁰ Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 159.

³¹ Ibid., 163; and Sungkyul Kyohoe Inmoolchon [The great persons in Korean Evangelical Holiness Church], 2 vols. (Seoul: Ilchungsa, 1990), 1: 106.

³² Sung-bong Lee, Malro Mothamyun Jukeumeuiro [If not possible with a word, then with death] (Seoul: Word of Life Press, 1993), 24.

without any hesitation and was applauded by adults.³³ However, in his youth he began to gamble and drink and took the wrong path for several years. But with his mother's earnest prayer and a serious disease in his right thigh, known as periostitis, he repented and came back to the Christian faith.

In 1925, at the age of 26, he entered the Bible School that the Oriental Missionary Society governed,³⁴ and was educated there for three years. In 1932, at the age of 32, he was ordained as a pastor in the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church. When he was 37 years old, the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church officially appointed him as a revivalist of the denomination at the General Assembly held in 1937. From that time on until his death, approximately for 30 years, he traveled all over the country and led revivals more than one thousand times.³⁵ His style and form as well as content of the sermons that he preached for 30 years

³³ Ibid., 21.

³⁴ The Oriental Missionary Society (O.M.S.) is the predecessor of the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church, and the Bible School that O.M.S. ran is also the predecessor of Seoul Theological University and Seoul Theological Seminary. A Methodist, Charles E. Cowman, and his friend E. A. Kilborne came from the United States to Japan to evangelize Asian countries. They did not intend to start a new denomination. Their only concern was to spread the pure Gospel they had experienced to Asians. So on the one hand they opened the Oriental Missionary Society Evangelization Center at Tokyo in 1901 and spread the Gospel, and on the other hand they established the Tokyo Bible School at Tokyo in 1902 and cultivated Church leaders. Their main message was regeneration, sanctification, faith-healing, and the second advent. These quadruplex of the Gospel became a major motto for the mission of the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church. The Korean Evangelical Holiness Church was started on May 30, 1907 by two Korean men, Bin Chung and Sang-joon Kim, who were taught at the Tokyo Bible School.

³⁵ The great Persons in the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church, 1: 103.

influenced definitively many Korean people regardless of their denominational ties.³⁶

The main theme of his sermons was the quadruplex Gospel of the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church. Rev. Lee says, "I have known that this is the great mission for me to receive, to rely on, to experience, and to spread the quadruplex Gospel of the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church - Regeneration, Sanctification, Faith-healing, and the Second Advent."³⁷ He was always enthusiastic about the great mission that was given to him and he used to say he would preach the Gospel "If not possible with a Word, then with Death!"³⁸ In the period of the national revival tour, he occasionally preached five or six times a day. When he suffered from appendicitis, he was carried from one place to another on a litter.³⁹

The quadruplex of the Gospel that Lee preached was not only the Mission motto of the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church, but also the traditional message of the Korean revival movement. According to him, "there are four great gospels among many gospels in the Old and New Testament. First is the Gospel of regeneration (John 3: 3-5; Ephesians 2) - Persons cannot see the

³⁶ Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 165.

³⁷ Sung-bong Lee, If not Possible with a Word, Then with Death, 100.

³⁸ The Great Persons in the Korean Evangelical Holiness, 1: 106. And this word became the title of his autobiography.

³⁹ Sung-bong Lee, If not Possible with a Word, Then with Death, 113.

Kingdom of God without being born again Second is the Gospel of Sanctification (I Peter 1: 15-16; I Thess. 5: 23) - Blessed are the pure in heart Third is the Gospel of Divine-healing (or faith-healing) - this is the good news to the sick (James 5: 14-15; Exodus 15: 26; Psalm 103: 3) Fourth is the Gospel of the Second Advent of Christ (Revelation 22: 20; Luke 12: 40; Colossians 1: 21-23)"⁴⁰

"Regeneration" or "rebirth" was not the unique message of Lee Sung-bong and the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church. It had been a core message of all the revival sermons. According to Timothy Lee, "Revivalism, in short, is defined as a species of Protestantism whose key attribute is the belief that to attain salvation, one must not only believe in the sufficiency of Christ's redemptive death and resurrection but must also have a felt conviction of rebirth. This conviction normally arises in the wake of one's conversion experience "⁴¹

Compared to other revivalists, Lee's emphasis on the sanctification of the saints is somewhat peculiar. It is assumed it is because the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church has a Wesleyan theological background. In his sermon, titled "the Gospel of sanctification", he says,

"Sanctification of the saints is not the patent of the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church. Every Christian has to accept this Gospel and to experience it. Sanctification of saints is God's commandment (I Peter 1:15) It is the will of God the Father It is the qualification to enter the Kingdom of God It is like wearing makeup

⁴⁰ Sung-bong Lee, Booheung Sulkyo Jinsoo [The essentials of revival sermons] (Seoul: Korean Evangelical Holiness Church Press, 1985), 71-95.

⁴¹ Timothy Lee, 11.

as a bride of Christ And the man of sanctification is used by God honorably."⁴²

Rev. Lee's emphasis on faith-healing and the Second Advent of Christ were not only due to the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church's mission motto, but also due to the influence from Kil Sun-joo and Ik-doo Kim. The message of the millennium was the trademark of Sun-joo Kil, and the message of the faith-healing was that of Ik-doo Kim. For his thirty-year long ministry, Rev. Lee harmonized the aforementioned revivalists' thoughts and influenced the later generations.

One characteristic of his preaching was that all the key points and the conclusions of his sermons were focused on the love of Jesus Christ.⁴³ Another characteristic of his sermon was his focus on salvation by receiving Jesus Christ as one's personal Lord and Savior. Rev. Lee composed lots of praise poems and used to sing in his revivals. One of them that expresses the love of Christ is "With the Lord alone."

"With the Lord Alone"

Beautiful are you Jesus, oh my good companion
He suffered death for me and lives for me

Oh Lord Jesus I invite you to the center of my heart
I am satisfied fully with the Lord alone

Business without Jesus may look like success but fail
Life with Jesus is profitable in all affairs

Jesus is my life and he is also my joy

⁴² Sung-bong Lee, Immanuel Kangdan [Immanuel pulpit] (Seoul: KEHC Press, 1955), 82-85.

⁴³ Dae-sik Hwang, Sulkyo Hungtae Bikyo Yunkoo [A comparative study of sermon styles] (Seoul: Hyesun Press, 1987), 115.

Without Jesus in my life not even one moment I survive

In the morning, with Jesus, I open my eyes
And in the night, with Jesus, I close my eyes

Fish that are away from sweet water may live
But the spirit that is away from Jesus never lives

However, the most important characteristic in his sermons is Nihilism. He composed lots of "songs of naught" and sang those songs.

"An Evening Scene of Life"

I look over the worldly affairs and they are vain
What is the use for wealth, honor, long life
And ancient emperor's high tower house,
And even fertile fields in front of the house are
Like mid summer night's dream once we pass away

Are we to live in this dream-like world forever
Time of luxurious living is also like catching the wind
Hardships of life are also like the summer night's dream
Alas men, whither thou run

Ginseng, antlers are good but they are no use for
keeping old age away
Even Emperor Chin Si's panacea proved no use for death
Who is able to run away from life's journey to death
One thing for sure, you and I, we are both doomed

Do not worry, now that you believe in God
Believe also in me, the Lord speaks
My father's house are plenty for us to stay
Happy are we to live with the Lord forever and ever

The bells over the river are clear to my ears
The radiance from the jewel castle are bright to my eyes
Believers of the past wait for us with our Lord
Let us go to our hometown, with hallelujah and amen

Such Christian nihilism also influenced Korean Christians much. Consequently, Korean Christians have a strong tendency to yearn for the future life that comes after death rather than to reform and innovate the present realities of life.

Yi Yong-do: The Spiritualistic Mystic

Yi Yong-do (April 6, 1901-Oct. 2, 1933) was a popular revivalist who overwhelmed the entire Korean Protestant scene with his spirit from the late 1920s to the early 1930s. In this period, Kil Sun-joo and Kim Ik-doo played an active part in Korean revival movements. It is generally evaluated that "despite their prominence, however, during the five years from 1928 to 1933, neither Kim nor Kil had pride of place in Korean Revivalism. For in that period, that place belonged to another revivalist Yi Yong-do."⁴⁴ He was a mysterious kind of revivalist and more than sixty years after his death, Yi still remains as an enigmatic figure. Evaluations about him have been extremely different in the Korean Church. Some people evaluate him very honorably, but on the other hand, some people blame him to be a heretic. There is another movement to reevaluate him in Korean church these days.

The 1930's that Yi took an active role in, was the period when most of the Korean people were severely frustrated due to the failed effort of the 1919 Independence Movement and constant Japanese oppression. It was the time of the Great Depression and its impacts were also felt in Korea, and the exploitation by Japan was becoming harsher day by day. They had no hope at all. Escapism and pursuing the heavenly were all-pervasive.

Yi believed in and yearned for the millennium like Kil Sun-joo and, though to a much less extent than Kim Ik-doo, he

⁴⁴ Timothy Lee, 154.

believed in faith-healing. Yet it was neither his belief in millenarianism nor his part in faith-healing that characterizes Yi Yong-do and his revival movement. Spiritualistic mysticism is his most salient feature. Although the word of God and preaching is still the most important part in his revival, he would cry in the pulpit sometimes, overwhelmed by grief that arose from the situation of national ruin, and at the same time he would cry for the immeasurable love of Christ Jesus. When he did this, all in the congregation were deeply impressed and began weeping with him, feeling the pain and joy that he felt. In such a hopeless situation as his time, Yi's nihilistic and mystical message was somewhat of an encouragement to many people.

Yi was born on April 6, 1901 to poor peasant parents. His father was a heavy drinker and persecuted his family because his mother and Rev. Yi adhered to the Christian faith. From his birth, he was not a healthy and strong person. At the age of 25, he coughed up blood and he suffered from a severe disease. This physical weakness and loneliness motivated him to start a new life.⁴⁵ Before he entered the Methodist Hyupsung Theological Seminary, he was imprisoned three or four times and one time for two years because of the 1919 Independence Movement.⁴⁶ In 1930, he was ordained as a pastor in the Korean Methodist Church. He preached and led revivals for five short years before and after his ordination (1928-1933) until his death due to his chronic

⁴⁵ Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 184.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 183.

disease, tuberculosis. However, his influence as a revivalist was strong all over Korea in those years. Yi led revivals 20 times in 1931, 23 times in 1932, and 2 times in 1933. The number of times he preached cannot even be compared to the number of revivals that Kil Sun-joo led in his forty year ministry who preached some 20,000 times, baptized 3,000 persons, and had about 70,000 converts.⁴⁷ However, his influence as a revivalist may have more impact than that of Rev. Kil. His missionary friend and admirer Victor Wellington Peters says, "he was not at his zenith [in 1931] He was like lightning over the thirteen provinces (Korea was divided into thirteen provinces) of Korea and even into Manchuria, and he imprinted a deep impression upon the hearts of the people everywhere. There was something magnetic about his preaching. Admirers followed him sometimes hundreds of miles."⁴⁸ He certainly was a great preacher and revivalist, and his influence continued to the next generation of the whole Korean Church.

Korean Church historians report that Yi had often seen visions throughout his life. When he was 14 years old, he saw a vision that an angel came down upon him from the heaven.⁴⁹ And There is a document that Yi fought against the Devil on the

⁴⁷ Taik-poo Chun, Hankook Kyohyoe Balchonsa [The history of church development in Korea] (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1987), 227.

⁴⁸ Victor Wellington Peters, "Simeon, A Christian Korean Mystic," Korea Mission Field, no. 32 (Sep. 1936): 196.

⁴⁹ Kyung-bae Min, Kyohyoewa Minchok [Church and people] (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1981), 285.

daybreak of Dec. 24, 1928 when he was in Tongchon.⁵⁰ Yi himself testified of his mystical experiences,

In the middle of the night, I was praying by myself in the church. Then suddenly the picture on the wall was moving, and the Lord who was praying at Gethsemane was walking toward me, and stopped before me. I was so amazed and looked at him closely. Our Lord was crying and red blood and sweat were flowing down from his forehead. I could not see him any more. And I lowered my head and began to cry out.⁵¹

He became more mystical and charismatic. The love Yi cried for was usually called "the mystical love,"⁵² or "the indiscriminate love."⁵³ He used to cry for unconditional love and equal love. For him, love is to be one with the Lord, and to have faith is simply to love.⁵⁴ In his diary, Yi wrote, "when I became one with the Lord by love, what I do will be the same as what the Lord does. The Lord dwells in me, and I dwell in him. By doing so, our faith will be completed, and it's the time for us to be perfect."⁵⁵ In his sermon, Yi said, "if the love of God is burning in us, it is possible for us to perform miracles just

⁵⁰ Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 187.

⁵¹ Chong-ho Byun, Yi Yong-do Moksa Chonjip [The complete works of Rev. Yi Yong-do] (Seoul: Chosuk, 1986), 28.

⁵² Kyung-bae Min, Church and People, 298.

⁵³ Tong-shik Ryu, The Lode of Korean Theology, 128.

⁵⁴ Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 199.

⁵⁵ Yong-do Yi, Yi Yong-do Moksa Ilgi [The diary of Rev. Yi Yong-do], in Yi Yong-do Moksa Chonjip [The complete works of Rev. Yi Yong-do] (Seoul: Chosuk, 1986), 210.

like Jesus. No one has greater love than to lay down one's life for one's friends."⁵⁶

What are the characteristics of Yi's thought, theology and preaching? First, he did not focus on any particular theology,⁵⁷ neither on particular doctrines,⁵⁸ and he also did not have a specific form or style to his preaching. For him, there was only experience and mysteries.⁵⁹ Once he preached, "the Lord is the object to be experienced, not the object to be talked about. Don't be an explainer of the Lord, but experience him and live with him."⁶⁰ He advocated a mystical Christianity that is suitable for Asians, assuming that Western Christianity is not suitable for Asians because Western Christianity is a kinetic, secular, and formal one.⁶¹ Byun Chong-ho summarizes Yi's preaching and revivals like this:

He has never prepared manuscripts. He only prays and waits for a message from the above, and chooses a text just before he goes up to the altar He has never told the title(s) of his sermons. So it's hard to know what the title of the sermon is. But he makes the congregation weep and be impressed He has never been subject to restriction in time. Sometimes he finishes his sermon in 10 minutes, but sometimes continues to preach 7 hours without ceasing Sometimes before lots of congregation, he just prays for several hours and he ends the revival meeting. And sometimes

⁵⁶ Chong-ho Byun, Yi Yong-do Moksa Chonjip [The complete works of Rev. Yi Yong-do] (Seoul: Chosuk, 1986), 41.

⁵⁷ Dong-shik Ryu, The Lode of Korean Theology, 132.

⁵⁸ Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 208.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 208.

⁶⁰ Chong-ho Byun, 45.

⁶¹ Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 202.

he just reads the Bible. But strangely enough through the reading of the Bible, all the congregation weeps and repents of their sins⁶²

Yi became more mystical and finally he identified himself with the suffering Christ.⁶³ In September 1933, the 22nd General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church, just one month before he died at the age of thirty-two, declared him a heretic. For just four or five years, he, with a great spiritual power, touched Korean people to tears and challenged them who were in a state of utter bewilderment. He may have invigorated the Korean people with his sermons and mysticism, but his mysticism was suspected of having interrelationships with traditional Korean Shamanism.⁶⁴ Not only that, his mystical revivalism gave rise to many ill effects, including leading people to fanaticism, and claiming oneself to be the Messiah.

⁶² Chong-ho Byun, 33-34.

⁶³ Kyung-bae Min, A History of the Korean Christian Church, 389.

⁶⁴ Sung-kuh Chung, A History of Preaching in the Korean Church, 203.

CHAPTER 5

General Problems of Korean Preaching and New Suggestions
from the Perspective of Canonical Criticism

Preaching in the Korean Church from the beginning, from the time when missionaries arrived in Korea in 1884, arose from the tradition of fundamentalism and revivalism. Therefore, conversion experiences and messages of personal salvation were the main foci of the pulpit from the beginning. This has not changed much even today. Consequently, Korean preaching generally ignores the socio-political issues of the day. Moreover, preaching was and still is also based on the literal interpretation of the Bible. Most of the sermons were prepared in the method of topical, textual and recently expository preaching based on literal interpretation of the Bible.

When we examine these characteristics of preaching in the Korean Church from the perspective of canonical criticism, these preaching styles do not account for any element of canonical process at all. On the contrary, these preachers believe that any biblical text can and should be applied consistently to any person and any situation at any time. Examined from the perspective of canonical criticism, Korean preaching did not recognize the bottom right angle of the hermeneutical triangle (the situation and context) which was and is constantly changing.

With the change in the bottom right angle, the bottom left angle (the text or tradition) that was given at the specific situation and specific time should change also. That's why Sanders has continually emphasized that "We must work not only on text but on context."¹ He continues, "we try to understand the text in its original context; that requires scientific, exegetic tools of the first sort of hermeneutics. Then we try to understand it in our own context; that is the second sort."² However, this is the point which the Korean Church has not grasped with certainty. On top of that, the top angle of the hermeneutical triangle (God or theology) is changing with the change of both text and context. The Korean Church and preachers have missed this point entirely. Sanders strongly warns about the risks of focusing on only one aspect of God's works in changing situations.

Viewing the canon as essentially paradigms of the verbs of God's works, and a putative paradigm suggesting the verbs of our works in the light of God's, issues in a theocentric perspective on the Bible. It is God who is Creator, it is God who is Elector, it is God who is Redeemer, it is God who is Sustainer, it is God who is Judge and Re-creator. To focus on only one aspect of God's works, such as redemption, can issue in denominationalism and particularism: christocentrism or redemption-centered theology can issue in exclusivity, just as emphasis only on God as Creator of all the world and of all peoples can issue in a flaccid kind of universalism. A theocentric hermeneutic applied to the canon as paradigm can liberate us today both from the ancient mores reflected in the Bible which may be uncouth and from the kinds of denominationalism which always seem to crouch so close to the door of biblical interpretation.³

¹ James A. Sanders, God Has a Story Too, 14.

² Ibid., 8.

³ Ibid., 134-35.

Because the Korean church has missed these two points and still emphasized the 'supposedly unchanging' text, Korean preaching tended to ignore the needs of the people in the specific situation but served the interest of the power structure by stressing the words of Romans 13:1 where it is said to obey the authority. This happened in all stages of Korean history, under Japanese rule, and under other dictatorial regimes. In doing so, the Korean Church played the role of a spokesperson for the government even though the government was oppressing, and exploiting the people. There were definitely those preachers who opposed the government and preached God's righteousness and justice on behalf of the poor and the oppressed. However, these preachers were oppressed by the government and by other preachers who were standing on the side of the government. Thus the majority of preachers missed the message that comes from God that is intended for the changing situation of the times.

The Korean Church needs to go through a change now. Preaching needs to be changed as well. Korean preachers need to be attentive to God who gives a message that speaks to the situation of today. The Bible should be understood as a never-ending and on-going process of canon rather than the fixed Word of God that should be applied in the same manner regardless of the situation. Sanders says,

If the Bible as canon in the believing communities is seen not as a box of jewels of wisdom forever of static value but rather as a paradigm of how God thinks and acts in and through and across the several cultures out of which the Bible arose, then it will of necessity be read and appreciated quite differently than otherwise. This means that upon reading a biblical passage it is mandatory to theologize first and then thereupon, out of that effort, to

derive suggestions for obedience. It means quite clearly that in reading a biblical passage we cannot first moralize. The Bible is not a guarantor of the eternal value of old Bronze or Iron Age ethics, nor indeed of mores of the hellenistic period from which the New Testament sprang We must work out our own ethics in our own contexts guided by a dynamic reading of the gospel of God's works from Genesis through the New Testament, with fear and trembling.⁴

If the Korean Church does not learn and apply the principles of canonical criticism, the Korean Church will miss the message that God is giving to the Korean Church and to the Korean society today.

A Reflection on Preaching in the Period under Three Dictators
(1961-1988) from the Perspective of Canonical Criticism

In chapter three, the history of the Korean Protestant Church was divided into six major periods. All six periods of the Korean Church have mainly emphasized a one-sided message of personal salvation through conversion experience in each particular socio-political situation instead of being concerned about the socio-political issues and problems. This was the same across denominations. I would like to reflect on preaching, especially during the period under the dictator Park and the following two other dictators, ex-presidents Chun and Roh, of which I experienced personally, from the perspective of canonical criticism and give some suggestions.

When Dictator Park was assassinated on Oct. 26, 1979, I was a sophomore in college. Throughout my entire college life, I

⁴ Ibid., 134.

suffered greatly because of the tear gas that the combat police used to fire at the demonstrators. It was not unusual to see a group of demonstrators and the combat police in front of each university practically everyday. I also participated in demonstrations against the Yushin dictatorial government. Several times the combat police chased after other demonstrators and myself to the point where we were almost beaten to death. In retrospection, it may not be an overstatement to say that I spent my junior and senior high school days under a warlike atmosphere, because the terrible Yushin dictatorial constitution was established in 1972 when I entered junior high school. Until Park was assassinated in 1979, South Korea was under close scrutiny of the dictatorial government. Even after the collapse of the dictatorial Yushin government, Korea was not free from the same dismal political situation. Ex-president Chun and Roh were the other two dictators. There was no freedom of speech and writing under all three dictators. They had control over the press so that all TV, radio, and newspapers continued to report biased news that was designed to support the government. Korean people could not express their thoughts freely anywhere. They had to be careful what they said in the buses, in the subway, and even in classrooms and in company offices. Distinguished oppositional political party leaders, and conscientious professors and intellectuals who spoke against the dictatorial regime were arrested without warrant. They were imprisoned, beaten and tortured without lawful trial. As a result, some died in that dismal situation.

What did the Korean Church and church leaders do in this bleak situation? How did they cope with such a difficult situation? It is reported that 25 percent of Korea at that time was Christian. Therefore, in both numbers and organizational strength, the Korean Church had a power that the government could not disregard lightly. However, with this strength, human rights were infringed upon, speech and writing were controlled, laborers were exploited, irregularities and corruption of public service personnel were prevalent, and dictators accumulated wealth by unlawful means. In that situation, the Korean Church was silent toward such wrong doings of the government. Rather than pointing out evil deeds and crimes of the government, and preaching the message of repentance, they were supportive of the government. The Korean Church justified itself by saying that "[the church] should concern itself only with saving souls."⁵ By doing so, the church drew attention away from political realities, including, of course, the government's actions. Moreover, church leaders were invited to the "Prayer Breakfast Committee" that the government initiated. There, they blessed dictators, prayed for the safety and prosperity of the dictatorial governments, and promised continued supports from the Church for the government.

Under Yushin and the following dictatorial governments, the Korean Church held frequent mass revival rallies such as the World Pentecostal Campaign of 1973, the Expo' 74, the '77 Holy Assembly for the Evangelization of the Nation, the '80 World

⁵ Chung-shin Park, 397.

Evangelization Crusade, and the '88 World Evangelization Crusade. These occasions were used as devices for showing that there was no suppression of religious activities under the Park regime.⁶ The Korean Church took on the role of a government controlled puppet faithfully during this time.

I have established that the Korean Church has not preached the message that was appropriate for the time. What could have been the message that was appropriate for the time? I would like to reflect on this question from the perspective of canonical criticism in the following section. As mentioned above, when the bottom right angle (socio-political context) changes, the interpretation of the bottom left angle (text or tradition) must change, and accordingly the top angle (theology of preacher/reader) also changes. What should have been the message and what should have been the theology of preachers during the time of these dictatorial governments when unrighteousness and injustice were found everywhere, when human rights were ignored and violated constantly, and when the amassing of wealth by unlawful means was rampant in all levels of governmental structure? Much can be said on the issue but I believe preachers should not have kept silent toward nor supported the dictatorial government of injustice and unrighteousness. It is also clear that the message of God, the Creator, as one who hates and judges injustice and unrighteousness may have served the needs of people more appropriately in that situation than the message of God, as

⁶ Ibid., 399.

the Redeemer, who consoles and saves. If preachers attempted to preach a message from God the Creator and judge in that situation, they faced dangerous consequences, even death. But at least, preachers, not as false prophets but as true prophets, should have preached the message of God's judgment against unrighteousness and injustice because that message was closer to this specific socio-political context.

The Yushin dictatorial government collapsed when Park was assassinated. The following two dictators, Chun-Roh, are now imprisoned because of their amassing of wealth beyond our imagination, through immoral and illegal means. In Korean society, many Korean people dream of making a fortune without putting in an honest days work. Seeking wealth is more important than seeking moral values and laws. I do not think Korean preachers can be blamed for all the social ills that are rampant in Korea today. However, it is clear that their fault lies in that they did not do anything to address the situation. They should have preached sermons that reflected the socio-political context of the day in order to address God's people with the message that God would have given them. (Refer to the Case Study on Jeremiah 28:1-11 in Chapter 2 of this project)

An Example of a Preaching Guide for the Korean Church from the Perspective of Canonical Criticism

We have just witnessed the general pattern of preaching that was preached during the period under dictator Park and the following two dictators. We also reflected on it from the

perspective of canonical criticism in general. I would like to demonstrate, by choosing a passage from the Bible, how one could have preached that passage under the specific context of the dictatorial governments to better integrate text and context.

In doing so, it would be more desirable, first of all, to analyze some sermons that were preached in that period, and then, to give new suggestions. Unfortunately, however, most of the sermons that were left to us deal mainly with evangelical and personal affairs instead of dealing with socio-political issues. It is not only because most Korean preachers stood upon the tradition of fundamentalism and revivalism, but also because the dictatorial governments controlled speech and writing very closely. Therefore, sermons that dealt with the socio-political problems are virtually non-existent at this time. Secondly, it would be misleading to pick out just one or two preachers among many similar preachers in that period. It would be exclusive and unfair in analyzing the sermons that were preached in that period. Therefore, I chose one passage at my discretion, and will deal with this passage, giving some suggestions on preaching using the perspective of canonical criticism.

In analyzing the pericope found in Jeremiah 9:22-25 (in English version, Jer. 9:22-26) for preaching, the hermeneutical triangle that canonical criticism uses will serve as a main tool.

1. Text: Jeremiah 9:22:25 (the bottom left angle)

- 22a Thus says YHWH,
- 22b "Do not let the wise man boast in his wisdom,
- 22c Do not let the strong man boast in his strength,
- 22c Do not let the rich man boast in his wealth.
- 23a But the one who is boasting,

- Let him boast in this to understand and to know me
 23b that I am YHWH
 making faithfulness, judgment, and righteousness
 in the land.
 23c For in these I delight," the oracle of YHWH.
 24a "Behold, the days are coming,"
 the oracle of YHWH,
 24b "I will visit over all being circumcised in the foreskin.
 25a Over Egypt, and over Judah,
 and over Edom, and over sons of Ammon,
 and over Moab, and over all who cut off the corner of
 their hair dwelling in the desert.
 25b For all the nations are uncircumcised,
 25c and all the house of Israel is uncircumcised of heart."⁷

To get a message from the passage, some questions should be raised in terms of its own setting. What is the story then? How is this pericope operative in the text? What is the structure of the text in which the message presupposes? structural analysis is based on which is functioned and operative in this particular unit. As I have worked on it, the passage is structured as follows:

Title: The true and false values and God's warning of judgment

I. YHWH's oracle: true values and false values(9:22-23)

- A. YHWH's oracle against the false values(9:22)
 - 1. Boasting man's wisdom v. 22a
 - 2. Boasting man's strength v. 22b
 - 3. Boasting man's riches v. 23c
- B. The true values(9:23)
 - 1. Boasting to understand and to know YHWH v. 23a
 - 2. Why
 - a. YHWH does make love, justice, and righteousness v. 23b
 - b. YHWH delights in these v. 23c

II. YHWH's oracle for the imminent universal judgment (9:24-25)

- A. Warning of YHWH's days v. 24a
- B. Warning of YHWH's visiting over all the

⁷My translation from Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia.

circumcised	v. 24b
C. Warning of YHWH's universal judgment	v. 25a
D. Why(reason of the judgment)	
1. For all the nations are uncircumcised	v. 25b
2. For all the house of Israel is uncircumcised of heart	v. 25c

This passage is divided into two parts. The first part Jer. 9:22-23 looks like a poem, while the latter part is clearly prose. The main lesson of Jer. 9:22-23 is on discerning values by comparing the false values that humans boast about and the true values that belong to God. This teaching can also be divided into two basic parts: the negative meaning(v.22) and the positive meaning (v.23). The hinge between the two parts is the adversative **וְ** (but, or but rather).

In verse 23, the true values are introduced. It is "boasting to understand and to know YHWH." While verse 22 is negative in tone, verse 23 is positive. Boasting is redefined in terms of knowledge of God. When the object of "boasting" is anthropocentric, the boasting is rejected by God. The object of "boasting" is changed from humans' wisdom, might, and riches to understanding and knowing YHWH. It is understanding and knowing YHWH who is exercising **אֱמוּנָה** (faithfulness, loyalty, or love), **מִשְׁפָּט** (justice), and **צְדָקָה** (righteousness). God's faithfulness, justice and righteousness are the source of identity and well-being, of security and governance.⁸

⁸ Gail R. O'Day, "Jeremiah 9:22-23 and I Corinthians 1:26-31: A Study in Intertextuality," Journal of Biblical Literature 109, no. 2 (summer 1990): 262.

The second part of this pericope, Jer. 9:24-25, is YHWH's oracle for the imminent universal judgment. From the moment of his call, Jeremiah understood that he was to be a prophet not merely to Judah but "to the nations" (1:5), and always (9:25-26; 12:14) he has touched upon this phase of his commission.⁹

When we read this passage critically, we cannot avoid asking several questions of it. One of them is the reason of God's universal judgment. Why does God punish foreign nations as well as Israel? Why does the prophet warn about the universal judgment? In v. 25b, it says, "For all the nations are uncircumcised" (*כִּי כָל־הָעַמִּים עֲרֻלִּים*). In the LXX, it is translated, "for all the nations are uncircumcised to body" (*ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀπερίτμητα σαρκί*). "And all the house of Israel are uncircumcised of heart" (*וְכָל־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲרֻל־לֵב*). Did God command the Gentiles to be circumcised? If God did not require circumcision of other nations, how can God punish them because of their uncircumcision of body? Another question is raised about the mutual relation between God's punishment and humans' ignorance of Him/Her. Does God punish Israelites because they do not know YHWH? I will treat these problems in the theology section (the top angle of hermeneutical triangle).

2. Context or historical setting (the bottom right angle)

There is no precise agreement regarding the specific setting of Jer.9:22-25. (See chapter 2, pages 26-28). Interpreter's

⁹ Elmer A. Leslie, Jeremiah (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1954), 158.

Dictionary of the Bible arranges the period of the prophetic ministry of Jeremiah as follows:¹⁰

- a) From his call to the reformation of 621
- b) From the reformation to the death of Josiah(609)
- c) From 609 to the Battle of Carchemish(605)
- d) From Carchemish to the first deportation(598)
- e) From 598 to the destruction of Jerusalem(587)

The Book of Jeremiah, however, connects Jeremiah's prophecies mainly with such kings as - Josiah, Jehoiakim, and Gedaliah. Such historical background helps us to understand this passage more clearly. The second part of this passage 9:24-25 is warning of the imminent and direct universal punishment of God. On the other hand, the first part 9:22-23 is trying to persuade the Israelites to return to God, to have real values - to understand and to know God. For Jeremiah, to avoid God's punishment is to really understand and to know God. In other words, the best way to avoid God's punishment is by knowing and understanding who God really is. YHWH's nature, what God delights in is love, justice, and righteousness(v.23).

3. Theology (the top angle)

What concepts, then, are presupposed in this particular text? What is the theology in this passage that contributes to the horizon of the First Testament in general? From this pericope, I raised several questions. One of them was about universal judgment. This passage is clear enough to presuppose the concept of God's judgment through God's action against all the nations as well as against God's own people, Israel.

¹⁰ J. Muilenburg, "Jeremiah the Prophet," Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962), 2: 825.

Jeremiah was called "a prophet to the nations"(1:5), and on the day of his acceptance of the call he was set "over nations and over kingdoms"(1:10). Jeremiah prophesied YHWH's oracles against foreign nations in this pericope(Jer.9:22-25) and in chapters 46-51. Another question that was raised was regarding the reason of God's judgment. Why does God judge all the nations as well as his own people Israel? This text says, "For all the nations are uncircumcised (v. 25b), and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised of heart (v. 25c). Does God punish foreign nations because they are uncircumcised to body (ἀπερίτμητα σαρκί)? When did God command foreign people to be circumcised? Is it really fair for God to punish the foreign peoples who were not commanded to be circumcised?

The Israelites and her neighbors Egypt, Edom, Ammon, and Moab practiced circumcision.¹¹ The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible reports that "circumcision was widely practiced in antiquity, and was by no means unique with the Hebrews."¹² The Expositor's Bible Commentary also reports that "according to Herodotus(2.36-37, 104), Egypt practiced circumcision. Joshua 5:9 implies that the rite was practiced there[in Egypt]."¹³

¹¹ Ernest W. Nicholson, The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah Chapters 1-25 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 98.

¹² J. P. Hyatt, "Circumcision," Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, 1: 629.

¹³ Charles L. Feinberg, "Not Privilege but Morality," The Expositor's Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986), 6: 445.

Circumcision was practiced by most of the ancient Semites, except the Babylonians and Assyrians.¹⁴

This text says God will punish the foreign nations because they are uncircumcised to body. The two most authoritative Bible dictionaries say that circumcision is not unique with the Israelites. Then, what does it mean for God to declare them not to be circumcised to body? We can infer that all the performances and rites without divine command are nothing before God. Without God's command, everything is meaningless and insignificant before God. Moreover, before God they, as well as Israelites, are all alike uncircumcised, because they are not uncircumcised in heart.

Then, what about the Israelites? This text says God will punish them, too, because they are uncircumcised of heart (v. 25c). The Israelites had a strong pride in doing God's chosen people. For them, circumcision was the sign of the covenant (Gen.17:11-14). Especially in the period following the Babylonian exile, circumcision was assumed to be of great importance for the Jews, being one of their most distinctive religious rites, along with observance of the Sabbath.¹⁵

According to Jeremiah, Israel was "the first fruits of harvest"(2:3); "a choice vine"(2:21); "Yahweh's beloved"(11:15; 12:7); "his vineyard"(12:10); "his heritage"(12:7-9); and "his

¹⁴ J. P. Hyatt, "Circumcision," Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, 629.

¹⁵ Ibid., 629.

flock"(13:17).¹⁶ However, the exile confronted Israel with the most difficult theological problem in her history. Traditional theology asserted that the unique role of Israel as God's chosen people was established by her occupancy of the land of Canaan, the presence of a Davidic king, and the existence of the Jerusalem temple. The exile, involving as it did the destruction of the temple, the removal of the Davidic king from the throne, and the deportation of a significant proportion of the population, including the religious, civil, and military leadership, was a shattering blow to the basic tenets of Israel's faith.¹⁷

In this situation, just before the destruction of Jerusalem, Jeremiah had to warn about God's imminent punishment against Israel. Jeremiah struggled with the conviction that Judah was not living up to her rights, heritage, or potential. He recognized Judah as characterized by idolatry and shame. From this point of view, Jeremiah had to conclude that Israel was no longer any better than other nations. Jeremiah saw the need to reconstitute or resignify the meaning of circumcision. Also after the Exile, the message of "circumcision of heart" had to be declared. This is the basis of God's redemption. God's punishment always goes with his redemption. This might be the "two basic hermeneutic

¹⁶ John Joseph Owens, "Jeremiah, Prophet of True Religion," Review and Expositor 78, no. 3 (summer 1981): 366.

¹⁷ Victor J. Eldridge, "Jeremiah, Prophet of Judgment," Review and Expositor 78, no. 3 (summer 1981): 319.

axioms" that Sanders claims God as the Creator of all things and peoples, and God as the Redeemer in Israel and in Christ.¹⁸

Through God's judgment and through their painful experience, they came to find God as well as their identity. Through the punishment they recognized God's holy nature as well as their sinful nature. What is redemption? In a real sense, redemption is to understand and to know Yahweh correctly (v. 23a). To know God's nature is the beginning of redemption. Through the circumcision of heart, we really can understand and know God.

4. Canonical Criticism's Approach to the text under Dictatorial Regimes

When we apply canonical criticism to a certain text, the socio-political context (the bottom right angle of the hermeneutical triangle) of the time the text is preached must be considered. The Yushin dictatorial government and the following two dictators held the three powers of administration, legislation, and the judicature, and exercised their unlimited authority over the people. They relentlessly got rid of any persons who seemed to challenge their authority. Speech and writing were shackled, and under the name of economic growth, human rights were thoroughly trampled. Only college students, some opposition men out of office, and some religious young priests resisted the dictatorial government and their abuse of power and graft. A large majority kept silent.

Under the dictatorial regimes, how would such a specific text (Jer. 9:22-25) have been preached? In this context,

¹⁸ Sanders, Canon and Community, 70.

preachers might try to avoid a message that tells us of God's wrath and judgment against injustice and unrighteousness. Preachers not only kept silent against the dictatorial government, they also blessed them through the "Prayer Breakfast Committee." At that time, most of the preachers may have had a common theology (the top angle). They may have understood God only as Redeemer even in such a terrible situation. Preachers used to bless the dictatorial government and pray for their safety and prosperity. For the people, however, the preachers consoled them and laid stress on their obedience to governmental authority. Such a phenomena might be basically caused by the tradition of the Korean Church which is based on fundamentalism and revivalism. In interpreting a text, without sincere consideration of the socio-political context, the Korean Church has usually emphasized the literal interpretation of the Bible. They did not preach the wrath and judgment of God against the crimes and unrighteousness of the dictatorial government. Rather, they played the role as spokesmen of the dictatorial government. They concentrated their efforts on the spiritual movement through continuous mass revival rallies. They may have considered it their best duty to console all the Christians and the people through the revival movement. They have continuously emphasized rebirth through conversion experience, faith-healing, millenarianism, and spiritual mysticism.

In this situation, what theology would have to emerge? Under such dictatorial regimes, how should this specific text (Jer. 9:22-25) have been preached? In this situation, how should

preachers understand God? YHWH hates all human's wisdom, strength, and riches, and stands against them. On the contrary, what YHWH is pleased with is for humanity to understand and to know God who loves justice and righteousness, and hates injustice and unrighteousness. Preachers should have preached fairly not only to the dictatorial government, but also to the people. Preachers, both to the dictators and the people, could have pointed out the false values such as human's wisdom, strength, and riches. Preachers, both to the dictatorial government and the people, could have proclaimed the true values that are to understand and know God who loves justice and righteousness.

Moreover, preachers could have preached YHWH's universal judgment fairly to the people as well as the dictatorial government, because God's wrath and judgment comes upon not only the uncircumcised (the unbaptized), but also the circumcised (the baptized). In that situation, preachers could have pointed out their false values, and suggested the true values according to the text. They could have proclaimed the wrath and judgment of God upon them and urged them to repent. To the Church and the people, preachers also could have pointed out the false values and the uncircumcised of heart, and proclaim the gospel of repentance instead of emphasizing only personal salvation through a conversion experience that was not urgent in that situation. Interpreting a specific text while ignoring the socio-political context (the right bottom right angle) can be dangerous and lead to a misunderstanding of the real message from God in the

situation. Korean preachers, in the dictatorial context, missed an important message that they should have preached.

5. Canonical Relationship and Interpretation for Today

For Sanders, canonical criticism presupposes the conceptual framework of intertextuality. According to him, both testaments witness together to one purpose of God as well as witness independently. He says, "The correspondence between the two testaments is ontological, pointing to the reality of the one purpose of God."¹⁹ In this point of view, we can find the interrelationship between the First and Second Testament on Jer. 9:22-25.

When I compare Jer. 9:22-23 with 1 Corinthians 1:31 and 2 Corinthians 10:17, I find interesting parallels. 1 Cor. 1:31 is written as follows, "ἵνα καθὼς γέγραπται ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω." (in order that as it is written, the one who boasts, let him boast in the Lord). How about 2 Cor. 10:17, then? It is written "Ὁ δὲ καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω." (and the one who boasts, let him boast in the Lord). What we find here is that some words and the structure of the sentence in 1 Cor. 1:31 and 2 Cor. 10:17 are exactly the same with those in Jer. 9:22-23 in the LXX. Jer. 9:23 is written as follows, "ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τούτῳ καυχάσθω ὁ καυχώμενος" (but the one who boasts let him boast in these). As I observed above, we can find great similarities between Jer. 9:22-23 and 1 Cor. 1:31 and 2 Cor. 10:17. Could it be that Paul used the LXX translation of the Hebrew Bible? Moreover we might give

¹⁹ Sanders, From Sacred Story to Sacred Text, 156.

attention to a typical expression, "as it is written" (καθὼς γέγραπται). This expression indicates that it is possibly quoted from the First Testament.

However, the difference between the two Testaments in this passage is that Paul changed some words in it, meaning that Paul felt the need to change some words for his(their) situation of the believing communities. In Jer. 9:23, it is written, ἐν τούτῳ καυχάσθω (in these let him boast). But in 1 Cor. 1:31 and 2 Cor. 10:17, it is written, ἐν κυρίῳ καυχασθω (in the Lord let him boast). In Jer. 9:23, ἐν τούτῳ (in these) means συνίεν καὶ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι κυριος . . . (to understand and to know that I am the Lord . . .). But in Corinthians, ἐν τούτῳ (in these) has been changed to ἐν κυρίῳ (in the Lord). Then who is "the Lord" for Paul? Without any doubt for Paul "the Lord" is Jesus Christ. So for Paul ἐν κυρίῳ must ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (1 Cor. 1:30).

Between Jer. 9:24 and Romans 2:29, we also find an intertextual relationship. In the LXX, Jer. 9:25 is written, καὶ πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ἀπερίτμητοι καρδίας αὐτῶν (and all the house of Israel is uncircumcised to their heart). In Romans 2:29, it is written, καὶ περιτομὴ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι (and circumcision of heart in spirit not literally). Here we find that in Romans ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι (in spirit is not literal/letter) is added to Jer. 9:25. So the hermeneutical triangle of the interrelationship of ancient traditions or texts has been repeated and is an on-going process for particular historical

contexts of the believing community by use of certain hermeneutics.

The next step is to find out what and how God speaks to us through this passage in today's situation as God Spoke through Jeremiah to his people in his time. Today we can apply a lesson from this pericope to those baptized church members who do not live in accordance with God's Word and will. They are no better than the unchurched (whether the latter are baptized or unbaptized), who do not obey God's will. However, all of them are subject to God's wrath and punishment.²⁰

What does God want us to do? What Yahweh wants us to do is not physical circumcision or formal rites. What the Lord wants is circumcision of heart, an inward relationship with God. In other words, what God wants from us is to understand and know Yahweh. The supreme object of humanity's glory is to understand and to know Yahweh who is exercising and establishing faithfulness (love), justice, and righteousness on earth and to know that YHWH delights in these things (v.23). However, wisdom, power, and riches are what everyone seeks after. Riches and power are to this day the sole glory of most people. However, with riches and power, we can never please God. Rather those fleshly values are obstacles in having a meaningful relationship with God. The true value is to have knowledge and understanding of the Lord.

²⁰ Theodore Laetsch, Bible Commentary: Jeremiah (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1952), 119.

CHAPTER 6

Summary and Conclusion

Are there rules to preaching? Are there specific ways in which to evaluate preaching? Is there some biblical and theological standard or rule by which to evaluate the effectiveness of preaching? If so, what might they be? This writer examined such questions for some time and after a time of research into this matter, decided on canonical criticism to be one of the answers to the questions above. It should be assumed that canonical criticism may or may not be the absolute standard by which one can evaluate preaching. However, this writer has discovered that canonical criticism can be a very useful tool in evaluating and improving effective preaching that can address the needs of the time more accurately and validly. Canonical criticism shows and guides us, unlike any other critical discipline, how God's word should be preached and applied in today's situation where changes occur politically, economically and socially by the minute. Canonical criticism provides the on-going canonical process of the faith community by providing means and examples to adapt to the changes while at the same time keeping the sacred tradition.

As one Korean preacher, this writer looked at the flow and development of Korean preaching, the essence of Korean preaching and theological particularities and how these were applied and

preached at different times in Korean history beginning with the time when Protestantism entered Korea through the arrival of missionaries. This writer also looked at the relationship between the kinds of sermons preached and the socio-political and economical situation by surveying Korean history. At the same time, four influential preachers whom this writer believes are responsible for establishing the general style and content of Korean preaching as well as their main characteristics and particularities of preaching and the effects that they had on Korean preaching were examined.

Through this project, it has been established that Korean preaching, from the very beginning, is based on the tradition of fundamentalism as well as revivalism. Most of the churches have tried to keep this position regardless of the situation they faced. I then reflected on preaching in the Korean Church according to the methods of canonical criticism beginning from 1884, the year Protestantism was introduced to Korea, to the present time. Through this research, I have discovered that Korean preaching maintained the position of fundamental theology throughout the years even when the situation called for change. At the same time, it was discovered that the Korean Church was concerned mainly with personal salvation and other-worldly views rather than engaging in social action and striving for social salvation.

This writer believes that it would be beneficial for the Korean Church and Korean preaching to accept the methods of canonical criticism that balances text and context as one of the

useful and important tool for the enhancement of Korean preaching. It is my hope that canonical criticism will be received with favor as one of the tools for strengthening Korean preaching.

APPENDIX

BRIEF CHART OF KOREAN MODERN HISTORY AND
GREAT REVIVAL RALLIES

1884	First Protestant missionaries arrived in Korea.
1894	Japan defeated China and partly occupied Korea.
1904	Japan defeated Russia and partly occupied Korea.
1905	Korea became Japanese colony.
1907	First great revival rally in Pyongyang.
1910	Japanese annexation of Korea.
1919	Korean Independence Movement on March first.
1945	Liberated from Japan by Japan's being defeated in World War II. (Korea was liberated to Russia in north and U.S.A. in south.)
1948	Korea was permanently divided into two states. (North Korea became a communist country under Il-sung Kim, and in the south Seung-man Rhee was elected for the first president.)
1950-1953	Korean War
1960	Seung-man Rhee was reelected president for a fourth term in a rigged election. Student uprising on April 19th; Rhee resigned.
1961	General Chung-hee Park carried out a coup and became president.
1971	Chung-hee Park was reelected president for a third term.
1972-1980	Yushin Constitution - Park's dictatorial Constitution for his permanent life-time seizure of power.
1973	Billy Graham Crusade
1974	Expo '74
1977	'77 nyon Minjok Bokeumhwa Daesunghoe ('77 Holy Assembly for the Evangelization of the Nation).

- 1978 Park was reelected for a fourth term.
- 1979 Park was assassinated.
- Kyu-ha Choi was elected acting president (the tenth president).
- 1980 Kwangjoo city's resistance for democracy. (Military squelched demonstrations, and killed hundreds of people.)
- '80 World Evangelization Crusade
- 1980-1981 General Doo-hwan Chun was elected the eleventh president in an election by the delegates to the National Conference for Unification.
- 1981-1987 Chun was elected the twelfth president.
- 1988 Tae-woo Roh was elected the thirteenth president.
- Seoul Summer Olympic Games
- '88 Bokeumhwa Daesunghoe ('88 World Evangelization Crusade)
- 1992 Young-sam Kim was elected the fourteenth president.
- 1996 Ex-presidents Chun and Roh were imprisoned because of their illegal amassing of wealth.

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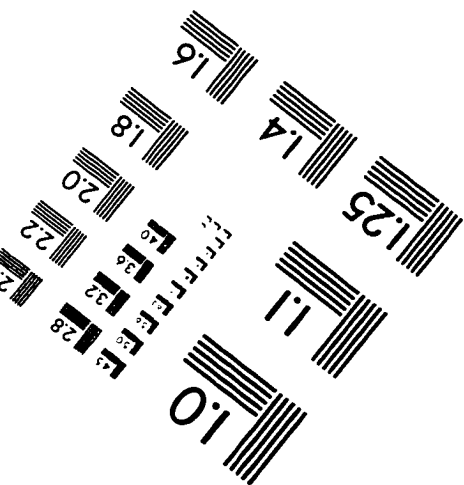
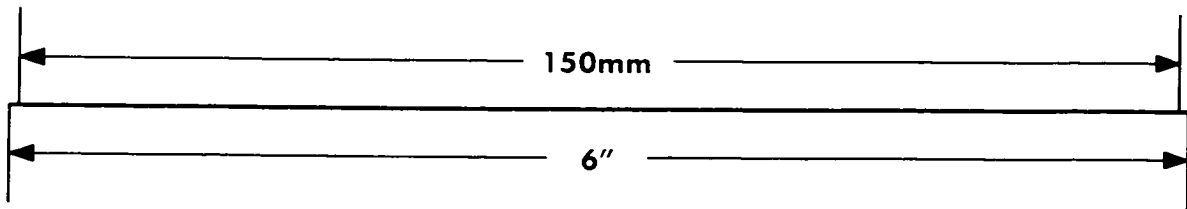
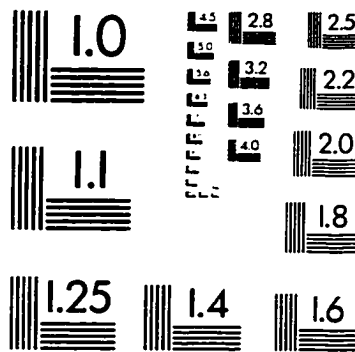
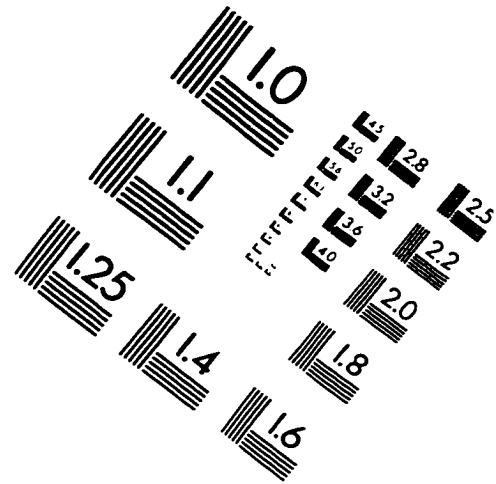
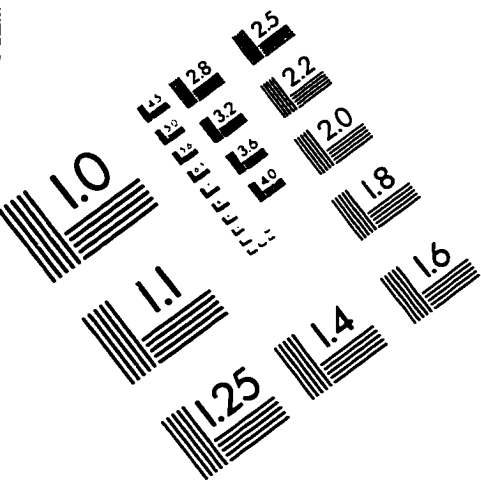
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